UNTSO
UNMOGIP
UNEF I
UNOGIL
ONUC
UNSF
UNYOM
UNFICYP
DOMREP
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UNIIMOG
UNAVEM I
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ONUCA
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UNAVEM II
ONUSAL

**UPDATE:
MAY 1994**

MINURSO
UNAMIC
UNPROFOR
UNTAC
UNOSOM I
ONUMOZ
UNOSOM II
UNOMUR
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UNAMIR
UNASOG
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PEACE-KEEPING

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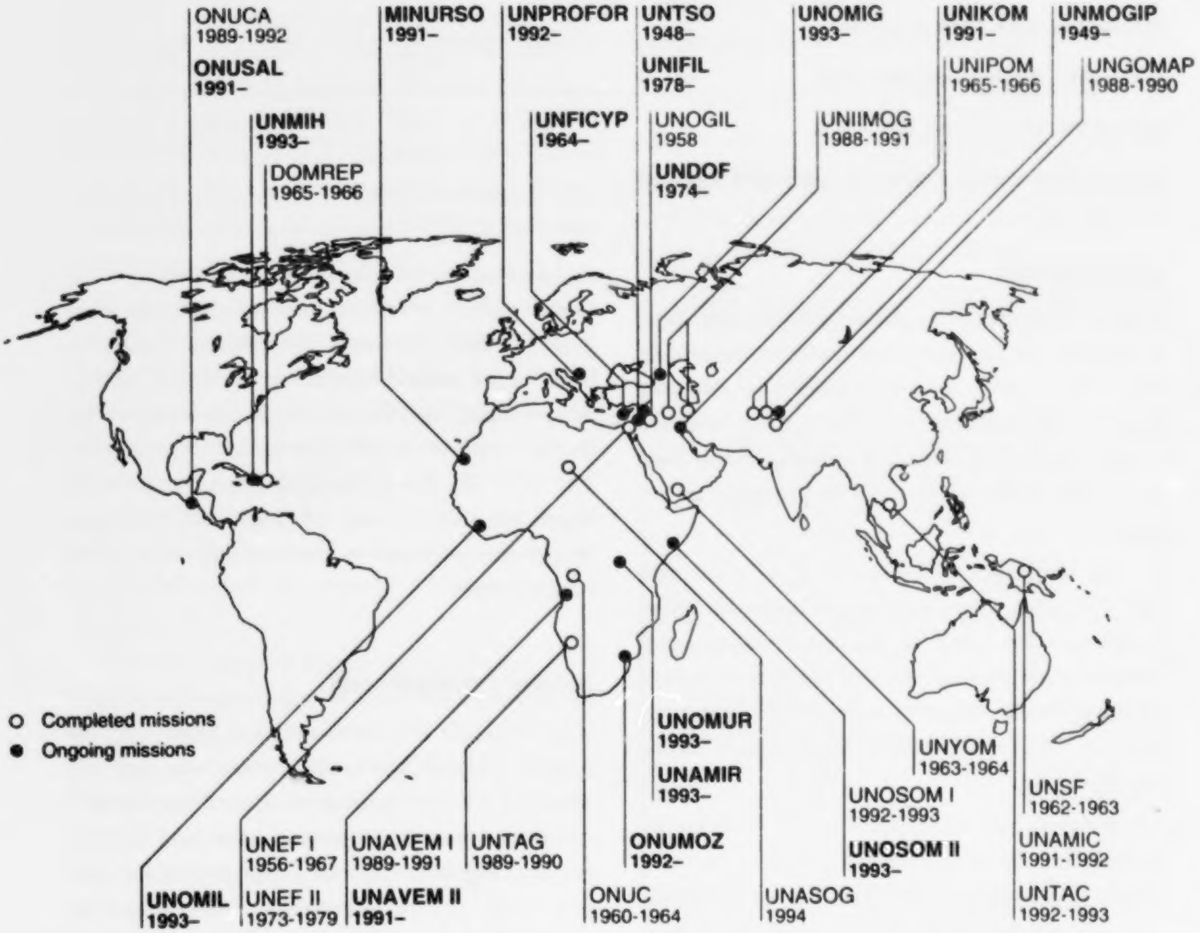
PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS PAST AND PRESENT

UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization	June 1948 – To present
UNMOGIP	United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan	January 1949 – To present
UNEF I	First United Nations Emergency Force	November 1956 – June 1967
UNOGIL	United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon	June 1958 – December 1958
ONUC	United Nations Operation in the Congo	July 1960 – June 1964
UNSF	United Nations Security Force in West New Guinea (West Irian)	October 1962 – April 1963
UNYOM	United Nations Yemen Observation Mission	July 1963 – September 1964
UNFICYP	United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus	March 1964 – To present
DOMREP	Mission of the Representative of the Secretary-General in the Dominican Republic	May 1965 – October 1966
UNIPOM	United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission	September 1965 – March 1966
UNEF II	Second United Nations Emergency Force	October 1973 – July 1979
UNDOF	United Nations Disengagement Observer Force	June 1974 – To present
UNIFIL	United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon	March 1978 – To present
UNGOMAP	United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan	April 1988 – March 1990
UNIIMOG	United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group	August 1988 – February 1991
UNAVEM I	United Nations Angola Verification Mission I	January 1989 – June 1991
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group	April 1989 – March 1990
ONUCA	United Nations Observer Group in Central America	November 1989 – January 1992
UNIKOM	United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission	April 1991 – To present
UNAVEM II	United Nations Angola Verification Mission II	June 1991 – To present
ONUSAL	United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador	July 1991 – To present
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara	September 1991 – To present
UNAMIC	United Nations Advance Mission in Cambodia	October 1991 – March 1992
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force	March 1992 – To present
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia	March 1992 – September 1993
UNOSOM I	United Nations Operation in Somalia I	April 1992 – April 1993
ONUMOZ	United Nations Operation in Mozambique	December 1992 – To present
UNOSOM II	United Nations Operation in Somalia II	May 1993 – To present
UNOMUR	United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda	June 1993 – To present
UNOMIG	United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia	August 1993 – To present
UNOMIL	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia	September 1993 – To present
UNMIH	United Nations Mission in Haiti	September 1993 – To present
UNAMIR	United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda	October 1993 – To present
UNASOG	United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group	May 1994 – June 1994



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JUNE 1994

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS TRUCE SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION

HEADQUARTERS: Government House, Jerusalem

DURATION: June 1948 to present

STRENGTH: 220 military observers

FATALITIES: 28 (as of 24 May 1994)

OFFICER-IN-CHARGE: Colonel Joseph Bujold (Canada)

BACKGROUND

From its early days, the United Nations has been concerned with the Arab-Israeli conflict in the Middle East. Since 1948, there have been five full-fledged wars directly connected with the conflict, and five United Nations peace-keeping operations have been established in the region. Of these, three are still deployed.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has its origins in the problem of Palestine, which was brought before the United Nations early in 1947. At the time, Palestine was a Territory administered by the United Kingdom under a Mandate from the League of Nations, with a population of about 2 million, two thirds of whom were Arabs and one third, Jews.

In November 1947, the General Assembly endorsed a plan for the partition of the Territory, providing for the creation of an Arab State and a Jewish State, with Jerusalem to be placed under international status. The plan was not accepted by the Palestinian Arabs and Arab States. On 14 May 1948, the United Kingdom relinquished its Mandate over Palestine and the State of Israel was proclaimed. On the following day, the Palestinian Arabs, assisted by Arab States, opened hostilities against Israel.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNTSO

On 29 May, the Security Council, in its resolution 50 (1948), called for a cessation of hostilities in Palestine and decided that the truce should be supervised by the United Nations Mediator, with the assistance of a group of military observers. This resolution formed the basis for the establishment of the first United Nations peace-keeping operation which became known as the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). The first group of observers arrived in the region between 11 and 14 June 1948 and were immediately deployed in Palestine and some of the Arab countries.

UNTSO'S OPERATIONS

While UNTSO was initially used in supervising the original truce of 1948, its function was radically altered in 1949 with the conclusion of four General Armistice Agreements between Israel and the four neighbouring Arab countries (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria). Its main responsibility then was to assist the parties in supervising the application and observance of those Agreements. Its headquarters was established at Government House in Jerusalem, where it remains today.

Following the 1967 war, UNTSO established two cease-fire observation operations, in the Israel-Syria sector and in the Suez Canal zone. In 1972, a similar operation was set up in southern Lebanon. When United Nations peace-keeping forces were later deployed, in the Sinai in 1973, on the Golan Heights in 1974 and in southern Lebanon in 1978, UNTSO observers were attached to the new forces to assist them in their operations.

Today, UNTSO observers continue to be assigned to the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF) on the Golan Heights in the Israel-Syria sector. They man eleven observation posts located in the area of separation maintained by the Force and in the vicinity of the lines on both sides. They also conduct the fortnightly inspections of the areas of limitation in armaments and forces provided for under the disengagement agreement of 1974. This group of UNTSO observers is formed into Observer Group Golan (OGG). The Observer Detachment Damascus (ODD), a separate UNTSO unit, serves UNTSO in Syria and performs support functions for OGG.

In the Israel-Lebanon sector, UNTSO observers who have been detailed to assist the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) form the Observer Group Lebanon (OGL). This Group, which is under operational control of the UNIFIL commander, maintains five observation posts along the Lebanese side of the Armistice Demarcation Line and operates five mobile teams in parts of the UNIFIL area of operation that are under Israeli control and where UNIFIL infantry units are not deployed.

UNTSO continues to maintain its presence in the Egypt-Israel sector, where its observers are organized as Observer Group Egypt (OGE). The Group has its headquarters in Ismailia, operates outposts in the Sinai and conducts patrols in most parts of the peninsula. OGE maintains liaison for UNTSO with the Egyptian authorities. In addition, UNTSO maintains offices in Amman, Beirut and Gaza.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Over the years, UNTSO has also made available its personnel to assist in the setting up of other United Nations peace-keeping operations not connected with the Arab-Israeli conflict. The rapid deployment of experienced United Nations observers has been most valuable in setting up the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) in 1960, the United Nations Yemen Observation Mission (UNYOM) in 1963, the United Nations Good Offices Mission in Afghanistan and Pakistan (UNGOMAP) and the United Nations Iran-Iraq Military Observer Group (UNIIMOG) in 1988, the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) in 1991, the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in 1992 and the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) also in 1992.

COMPOSITION

UNTSO's military observers come from the following countries (figures as at 30 April 1994):

COUNTRY	OBSERVERS
Argentina	6
Australia	13
Austria	13
Belgium	6
Canada	14
Chile	3
China	3
Denmark	12
Finland	18
France	13
Ireland	19
Italy	7
Netherlands	15
New Zealand	7
Norway	15
Russian Federation	13
Sweden	19
Switzerland	7
United States	17
TOTAL	220

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

Since its establishment in 1948, UNTSO has been financed from the regular budget of the United Nations. Its costs are therefore assessed as part of each biennial programme budget. The annual cost of the operation is approximately $30 million.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS MILITARY OBSERVER GROUP IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

LOCATION: The cease-fire line between India and Pakistan in the State of Jammu and Kashmir

HEADQUARTERS: Rawalpindi (November-April); Srinagar (May-October)

DURATION: January 1949 to present

STRENGTH: 39 military observers

FATALITIES: 6 (as of 24 May 1994)

CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVER: General Ricardo Jorge Galarza-Chans (Uruguay)

BACKGROUND

For nearly four decades, the United Nations has been concerned with the conflict between India and Pakistan over the status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. In August 1947, India and Pakistan became independent. Under the scheme of partition provided by the Indian Independence Act of 1947, Kashmir was free to accede to India or Pakistan. Its accession to India became a matter of dispute between the two countries and fighting broke out later that year.

The question first came before the Security Council in January 1948, when India complained that tribesmen and others, with Pakistan's support and participation, were invading Kashmir and extensive fighting was taking place. Pakistan denied the charges and declared that Kashmir's accession to India was illegal.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNMOGIP

On 20 January, the Security Council adopted resolution 39 (1948) establishing a three-member United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to investigate and mediate the dispute. On 21 April 1948, by its resolution 47 (1948), the Council decided to enlarge the membership of UNCIP and recommended various measures, including the use of observers, to stop the fighting. The cease-fire between India and Pakistan came into effect on 1 January 1949, and a first group of UN military observers arrived in the area on 24 January. On 18 July 1949, India and Pakistan signed the Karachi Agreement establishing a cease-fire line to be supervised by the observers. These observers formed the nucleus of the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP).

UNMOGIP'S ACTIVITIES

Following the termination of UNCIP, the Security Council, by its resolution 91 (1951) of 30 March 1951, decided that UNMOGIP should continue to supervise the cease-fire in Kashmir. Since that time, UNMOGIP has functioned as an autonomous operation, directed by the Chief Military Observer. UNMOGIP's functions were to observe and report, investigate complaints of cease-fire violations and submit its findings to each party and to the Secretary-General.

In early August 1965, hostilities again broke out on a large scale along the cease-fire line in Kashmir, and eventually spread to the international border between India and West Pakistan. The Security Council called for a cease-fire and a withdrawal of all armed personnel to the positions held before the hostilities began.

In Kashmir, the supervision called for by the Council was exercised by UNMOGIP. In addition, since the hostilities extended beyond the Kashmir cease-fire line, the Secretary-General established an administrative adjunct of UNMOGIP, the United Nations India-Pakistan Observation Mission (UNIPOM), as a temporary measure for the sole purpose of supervising the cease-fire along the India-Pakistan border outside the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Following the withdrawal of troops in February 1966, UNMOGIP reverted to its original task, while UNIPOM was terminated.

At the end of 1971, full-scale hostilities again broke out between India and Pakistan. By the time fighting had ended and a cease-fire had gone into effect, a number of positions on both sides of the 1949 cease-fire line had changed hands. In July 1972, India and Pakistan signed an agreement defining a Line of Control in Kashmir which, with minor deviations, followed the same course as the cease-fire line established by the Karachi Agreement of 1949. India took the position that the mandate of UNMOGIP had lapsed, since it had related specifically to the cease-fire line under the Karachi Agreement and did not extend to the actual line of control that had come into existence in December 1971. Pakistan, however, did not accept this position.

PRESENT SITUATION

Given the disagreement between the two parties about UNMOGIP's mandate and functions, the Secretary-General's position has been that UNMOGIP can be terminated only by a decision of the Security Council. In the absence of such a decision, UNMOGIP has been maintained with the same administrative arrangements. Its task is to observe, to the extent possible, developments pertaining to the strict observance of the cease-fire of 17 December 1971 and to report thereon to the Secretary-General. The military authorities of Pakistan have continued to lodge with UNMOGIP complaints about cease-fire violations. The military authorities of India have lodged no complaints since January 1972 and have restricted the activities of the United Nations observers on the Indian side of the Line of Control. They have, however, continued to provide accommodation, transport and other facilities to UNMOGIP.

The Observer Group's headquarters alternates between Srinagar in summer (mid-May to mid-November) and Rawalpindi in winter. An operational staff office is maintained in one of those two cities when it is not hosting the headquarters. The supervision of the cease-fire in the field is carried out by a number of field observation teams stationed on both sides of the Line of Control and also along the border between Pakistan and Kashmir.

COMPOSITION

The strength of UNMOGIP is 39 military observers from eight countries (figures valid as at 30 April 1994):

COUNTRY	OBSERVERS
Belgium	2
Chile	3
Denmark	7
Finland	6
Italy	5
Norway	5
Sweden	8
Uruguay	3
TOTAL	39

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

UNMOGIP is financed from the regular budget of the United Nations. The annual cost of the operation is approximately $8 million.

Note: Data effective 10 May 1994

UNITED NATIONS PEACE-KEEPING FORCE IN CYPRUS

LOCATION: Cyprus

HEADQUARTERS: Nicosia

DURATION: March 1964 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 1,273 troops and support personnel, 12 military observers and 35 civilian police

CURRENT STRENGTH: 1,188 troops and support personnel, 12 military observers and 35 civilian police

FATALITIES: 165 (as of 24 May 1994)

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Joe Clark (Canada)

FORCE COMMANDER: Major-General Michael F. Minehane (Ireland)

BACKGROUND

Cyprus became independent on 16 August 1960 with a Constitution that was intended to balance the interests of the island's Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. A treaty of August 1960, entered into by Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, guaranteed the basic provisions of the Constitution and the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus.

The application of the provisions of the Constitution, however, encountered difficulties from the very beginning and led to a succession of constitutional crises. The accumulated tension between the two communities resulted in the outbreak of violence on the island on 21 December 1963.

On 27 December, the United Nations Security Council met to consider a complaint by Cyprus charging intervention in its internal affairs and aggression by Turkey. Turkey maintained that Greek Cypriot leaders had tried for more than two years to nullify the rights of the Turkish Cypriot community and denied all charges of aggression.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNFICYP

On 15 February 1964, after all attempts to restore peace on the island had failed, the representatives of the United Kingdom and of Cyprus requested urgent action by the Security Council. On 4 March 1964, the Council unanimously adopted resolution 186 (1964), by which it recommended the establishment of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) with a mandate to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting, and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions. Since then, the Council has periodically extended UNFICYP's mandate, usually for periods of six months at a time.

MAINTENANCE OF CEASE-FIRE AND MILITARY STATUS QUO

In connection with the hostilities in July and August 1974, the Security Council adopted a number of resolutions which have affected the functioning of UNFICYP and have required the Force to perform certain additional functions relating, in particular, to the maintenance of the cease-fire.

Following a de facto cease-fire, which came into effect on 16 August 1974, UNFICYP inspected the deployment of the Cyprus National Guard and the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot forces, and cease-fire lines and a buffer zone were established between the areas controlled by the opposing forces. The cease-fire lines extend approximately 180 kilometres across the island. The buffer zone between the lines varies in width from less than 20 metres to some 7 kilometres, and it covers about 3 per cent of the island, including some of the most valuable agricultural land.

Strict adherence to the military status quo in the buffer zone, as recorded by UNFICYP at the time, has become a vital element in preventing a recurrence of fighting. UNFICYP maintains surveillance through a system of 151 observation posts, and through air, vehicle and foot patrols. The Force maintains a patrol track, which runs the length of the buffer zone and is used for surveillance, monitoring of agricultural activities, resupply of observation posts and rapid reaction to incidents.

The task of UNFICYP is significantly complicated by the absence of a formal cease-fire agreement. As a result, UNFICYP is confronted with hundreds of incidents each year. The most serious incidents tend to occur in areas where the cease-fire lines are in close proximity, particularly in Nicosia and its suburbs. The Force investigates and acts upon all violations of the cease-fire and the military status quo. Its reaction in each case depends on the nature of the incident and may include the deployment of troops, verbal and written protests and follow-up action to ensure that the violation has been rectified or will not recur. In addition to maintaining the military status quo, UNFICYP must also preserve the integrity of the buffer zone from unauthorized entry or activities by civilians. As a result, UNFICYP has from time to time become involved in crowd control.

HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES

Another major function entrusted to UNFICYP is to encourage the fullest possible resumption of normal civilian activity in the buffer zone. To this end, it facilitates the resumption of farming in the buffer zone; assists both communities on matters related to the supply of electricity and water across the lines; endeavours to facilitate normal contacts between Greek and Turkish Cypriots; facilitates provision of emergency medical services; and facilitates delivery of mail across the lines. UNFICYP visits Greek Cypriots and the small Maronite community living in the northern part of the island. It also visits Turkish Cypriots living in the southern part. UNFICYP also cooperates with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in providing relief assistance.

RESTRUCTURING OF UNFICYP

Until recently, UNFICYP was the only United Nations peace-keeping operation not financed from assessed contributions by States Members of the Organization. In accordance with Security Council resolution 186 (1964), the costs of the Force were met by the Governments providing the military contingents and by voluntary contributions received for this purpose by the United Nations. In addition, the Government of Cyprus provided, at no cost, areas for the headquarters, camps and other premises of UNFICYP.

Under those arrangements, the troop-contributing Governments made available to the United Nations troops whose regular pay and allowances and normal *matériel* expenses they had agreed to pay themselves. The United Nations was responsible for the operational costs for administrative and logistic support (e.g., rations, fuel, hire of vehicles, maintenance of premises, salaries and travel of non-military personnel) and for extra and extraordinary costs incurred by the troop-contributing Governments for which they sought reimbursement on the basis of separate agreements concluded by the United Nations with each of those Governments. These costs could be paid only from the voluntary contributions received for this purpose. Voluntary contributions, however, had consistently fallen short of the required funds, leaving the Special Account for UNFICYP with a total deficit of approximately $200 million for the period from the inception of the Force to June 1993. As a result, reimbursement claims from the troop-contributing countries were paid only up to December 1981.

The Secretary-General repeatedly voiced his profound concern about the worsening financial situation confronting UNFICYP. He suggested that the Force should be put on a sound and secure financial basis and that the best way to finance UNFICYP would be for its costs to be met from assessed contributions.

Due to the deteriorating financial situation of the Force and frustration over the lack of progress towards a lasting political solution to the Cyprus problem, a number of troop-contributing Governments decided, in 1992, to reconsider their participation in UNFICYP. In his May 1992 report on UNFICYP activities, the Secretary-General spoke of the need to consult with the troop-contributing countries on their intentions on participation in the Force, including the timing of any reductions or withdrawals of their contingents, and on the possible future options for UNFICYP. On 21 September, the Secretary-General informed the Council that the troop-contributing Governments had given firm indications of their intention to reduce "the operational commitment" of their contingents, and he outlined a plan for a possible restructuring of UNFICYP.

In December 1992, the size of the Force was significantly reduced by the withdrawal of the Danish battalion (323 personnel) and reductions in the British, Austrian and Canadian contingents of 198, 63 and 61 personnel, respectively. This reduced UNFICYP's strength by approximately 28 per cent.

In his 30 March 1993 report, the Secretary-General stated that these reductions necessitated a major restructuring and reorganization of UNFICYP. The required operational and organizational adjustments had been put in place on 16 December 1992. He went on to say that further withdrawals announced by Canada and the United Kingdom would reduce the Force's strength from 1,513 to approximately 850 personnel and, unless the situation was redressed, UNFICYP would cease to be viable in June 1993. The Secretary-General presented his proposals for a further restructuring of the Force, stressing that they would be practical only if the Security Council changed the financing of UNFICYP from voluntary to assessed contributions.

In its resolution 831 (1993) of 27 May 1993, the Security Council decided that those costs of the Force which were not covered by voluntary contributions should be treated as expenses of the Organization, effective from the next extension of the Force's mandate on or before 15 June 1993 (*see Financial aspects, below*).

The Council also decided that UNFICYP should be restructured to a strength of three infantry battalions of approximately 350 personnel each, the minimum number required to maintain effective control of the buffer zone. A limited number of military observers were recently added to UNFICYP for reconnaissance, liaison and humanitarian tasks.

As a result of reductions, the Force now covers the cease-fire lines more thinly than before. Its capacity to react to incidents and to prevent them from escalating has been affected. At the same time, the mandate of UNFICYP has remained unchanged, as essentially have the functions deriving from that mandate. The restructured UNFICYP continues to interpose itself between the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot forces and to supervise the cease-fire lines that define the buffer zone, by observing and reporting any violations of the cease-fire and the military status quo.

For operational purposes, the Force is divided into three sectors and six line companies. In June 1993, the Canadian battalion was withdrawn, as scheduled. As a result, between June and September 1993, the Force's strength temporarily dipped below 1,000 and the Force Commander implemented an emergency contingency plan reorganizing UNFICYP in two sectors, covered by the Austrian and United Kingdom battalions. However, this did not last long; the decision of the Security Council to change the system of financing of the Force was followed by an offer by the Government of Argentina of a line battalion of some 350 personnel. The Force deployment was thus restored, as of 8 October 1993, to three line sectors/battalions as recommended by the Secretary-General and endorsed by Security Council resolution 831 (1993).

To offset the reductions in strength, the Force Commander has adjusted the organization of UNFICYP by moving a greater portion of the battalions' strength into the buffer zone and reorganizing the system of observation posts, relying more heavily on mobile patrolling. He also began a process of handing over certain humanitarian activities of the Force to the two sides.

On 22 November 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report in connection with the Council's comprehensive reassessment of the United Nations Operation in Cyprus. In the report, he provided a detailed analysis of the operation, describing the functions of UNFICYP, its activities, strength, organization and deployment; the Secretary-General's good offices mission in Cyprus; and the cost and financing of the Force. The Secretary-General recommended that the Council extend the mandate of the Force, with its present structure and strength, for a further six-month period until 15 June 1994.

The Security Council, by its resolution 889 (1993) of 15 December 1993, decided to extend the mandate of UNFICYP as recommended by the Secretary-General. It took note of the Secretary-General's conclusion that the present circumstances do not allow for any further modification in the structure and strength of UNFICYP and requested him to keep those matters under constant review with a view to the further restructuring of the Force.

COMPOSITION OF UNFICYP

The current strength of UNFICYP is 1,235 (compared with 2,132 in December 1990 and with 2,078 in November 1992). Military and police elements of the Force are provided by the following countries (figures as at 30 April 1994):

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Argentina		375	
Australia	20		
Austria		350	4
Canada		10	
Denmark		1	
Finland		1	
Hungary			4
Ireland	15	26	4
United Kingdom		425	
TOTAL	35	1,188	12

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

There is also a provision for 38 international civilian personnel and 414 locally recruited staff.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

By its resolution 47/236 of 14 September 1993, the United Nations General Assembly decided that for the period beginning 16 June 1993 the costs of the Force not covered by voluntary contributions should be treated as expenses of the Organization to be borne by Member States in accordance with Article 17 of the United Nations Charter.

In a letter dated 15 April 1993 addressed to the Secretary-General, the Government of Cyprus conveyed its offer to contribute, on a continuing basis, a voluntary contribution equal to one third of the annual cost of UNFICYP. In a subsequent letter dated 10 May 1993, the Government of Cyprus confirmed that its voluntary contribution for the 12-month period beginning 16 June 1993 would be increased to $18.5 million, provided that UNFICYP was restructured in accordance with the Secretary-General's proposed plan.

A second pledge was received from the Government of Greece which, by a letter dated 7 May 1993, informed the Secretary-General of its decision to increase its annual voluntary contribution to UNFICYP to $6.5 million, should the financing system of UNFICYP be converted to assessed contributions and the structure and strength of the Force remain unchanged. Therefore, a total of $25 million was expected from voluntary contributions towards the estimated annual cost of UNFICYP for the period beginning 16 June 1993.

The rough annual cost of UNFICYP is estimated at $47 million, financed on a basis combining voluntary contributions and contributions assessed on the entire membership of the Organization. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to UNFICYP's Special Account amounted to approximately $10 million.

By resolution 48/244 of 10 May 1994, the General Assembly, *inter alia*, requested the Secretary-General to continue his efforts in appealing for voluntary contributions to the account established for UNFICYP prior to 16 June 1993, when the Force was financed entirely by voluntary contributions. An accumulated shortfall of $194 million remains unreimbursed to troop contributors for that period.

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION OF GOOD OFFICES

The United Nations Secretary-General began his good offices functions in Cyprus in 1964. Since 1966, the Secretary-General's Special Representatives have been actively involved in promoting an agreed overall settlement. After the events of 1974, the Security Council, in its resolution 367 (1975) of 12 March 1975, requested the Secretary-General to undertake a new mission of good offices. Since then, the successive Secretaries-General and their Special Representatives have been trying to find a formula acceptable to both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS DISENGAGEMENT OBSERVER FORCE

LOCATION: **Syrian Golan Heights**

HEADQUARTERS: **Damascus**

DURATION: **June 1974 to present**

CURRENT STRENGTH: **1,035 troops assisted by the military observers of UNTSO's Observer Group Golan**

FATALITIES: **35 (as of 24 May 1994)**

FORCE COMMANDER: **Major-General Roman Misztal (Poland)**

BACKGROUND

On 6 October 1973, war erupted again in the Middle East between Egyptian and Israeli forces in the Suez Canal area and the Sinai and between Israeli and Syrian forces on the Golan Heights. On 24 October, as fighting between Egypt and Israel reached a critical stage, the Security Council decided to set up a second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II). The Force was immediately moved into place between the Israeli and Egyptian armies in the Suez Canal area, and its arrival effectively stabilized the situation.

In the Israel-Syria sector tension remained high, and from March 1974 the situation became increasingly unstable. Against this background, the United States undertook a diplomatic initiative, which resulted in the conclusion of an Agreement on Disengagement between Israeli and Syrian forces. The Agreement provided for an area of separation and for two equal zones of limited forces and armaments on both sides of the area, and called for the establishment of a United Nations observer force to supervise its implementation. The Agreement was signed on 31 May 1974.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNDOF

Later on the same day, the Security Council adopted resolution 350 (1974) by which it set up the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF). As provided in the Agreement on Disengagement, UNDOF's mandate was to maintain the cease-fire between Israel and Syria, to supervise the disengagement of Israeli and Syrian forces, and to supervise the areas of separation and limitation. Since then, the Security Council has periodically extended UNDOF's mandate for periods of six months at a time.

UNDOF'S ACTIVITIES

Advance parties of the Force arrived in the area on 3 June 1974, and within two weeks its total strength was brought to near its then authorized level of about 1,250. Following the completion of the disengagement operation and the delineation of the lines bounding the area of separation, UNDOF set up a series of checkpoints and observation posts within that area. In addition, two base camps were established, one on the east side of the area of separation and the other on the west side. In the area of separation UNDOF operates static positions and observation posts, which are manned 24 hours a day, and conducts patrols by vehicle or on foot along predetermined routes by day and night. Temporary outposts and additional patrols are set up from time to time to perform specific tasks.

Under a programme undertaken by the Syrian authorities, civilians have continued to return to the area of separation, the population of which has doubled since the establishment of UNDOF. The Syrian Arab

Republic has stationed police in the area of separation in exercise of its administrative responsibility. UNDOF has adjusted its operations accordingly to take account of these developments and to continue to carry out effectively its supervisory tasks under the Agreement on Disengagement. UNDOF headquarters maintains close liaison with the Israeli and the Syrian authorities through their senior military representatives. At the local level, the commanders of the UNDOF units maintain liaison with one side or the other through liaison officers designated by the parties.

UNDOF conducts fortnightly inspections of armament and force levels in the area of limitation. These inspections are carried out with the assistance of liaison officers from the parties, who accompany the inspection teams. The findings of the inspection teams are communicated to the two parties. The inspections have generally proceeded smoothly with the cooperation of the parties concerned, although on both sides restrictions are regularly placed on the movement of the teams in some localities. UNDOF has performed its tasks effectively, with the cooperation of the parties, and the area has remained generally quiet.

HUMANITARIAN FUNCTIONS

In addition to its normal peace-keeping functions, UNDOF has carried out activities of a humanitarian nature. At the request of the parties, UNDOF has from time to time exercised its good offices in arranging for the transfer of released prisoners and the bodies of war dead between Israel and Syria. It has assisted the International Committee of the Red Cross by providing it with facilities for the hand-over of prisoners and bodies, for the exchange of parcels and mail and for the passage of persons and personal effects across the area of separation. Within the means available, UNDOF has also provided medical treatment to the local population.

COMPOSITION

UNDOF was originally composed of Austrian and Peruvian infantry units and Canadian and Polish logistic elements transferred from the Second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II). The Peruvian contingent was withdrawn in July 1975 and replaced by an Iranian contingent. This contingent was in turn withdrawn in March 1979 and replaced by a Finnish contingent. Until December 1993, UNDOF comprised contingents from Austria, Canada, Finland and Poland, as well as a number of military observers, detailed from the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO). In addition, UNTSO observers assigned to the Israel-Syria Mixed Armistice Commission have assisted UNDOF in the execution of its tasks. In 1993, the Government of Finland decided to withdraw its contingent by the end of the year. Poland offered, and the Security Council agreed, to replace the Finnish infantry battalion. Canada also agreed to assume all logistics functions. Thus UNDOF currently comprises infantry battalions from Austria and Poland and a logistic unit from Canada as follows (figures as at 30 April 1994):

COUNTRY	TROOPS
Austria	461
Canada	215
Finland	2
Poland	357
TOTAL	1,035

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

UNTSO observers continue to assist UNDOF as before. There are some 35 international and 90 locally recruited civilian staff.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

From its inception, UNDOF has been financed from the Special Account established for UNEF II. Following the termination of UNEF II in July 1979, the account remained open for UNDOF. The annual cost to the United Nations of the operation is approximately $35 million. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the Special Account of UNDOF for the period from the inception of the operation to 30 May 1994 amounted to approximately $21 million.

PS/DPI/7/Rev.6 – May 1994

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS INTERIM FORCE IN LEBANON

LOCATION: Southern Lebanon

HEADQUARTERS: Naqoura

DURATION: March 1978 to present

STRENGTH: Some 5,313 troops assisted by 59 military observers of UNTSO's Observer Group Lebanon, and approximately 540 international and local civilian staff

FATALITIES: 196 (as of 24 May 1994)

FORCE COMMANDER: Major-General Trond Furuhovde (Norway)

BACKGROUND

In the early 1970s, tension along the Israeli-Lebanon border increased, especially after the relocation of Palestinian armed elements from Jordan to Lebanon. Palestinian commando operations against Israel and Israeli reprisals against Palestinian bases in Lebanon intensified. On 11 March 1978, a commando attack in Israel resulted in many dead and wounded among the Israeli population; the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) claimed responsibility for that raid. In response, Israeli forces invaded Lebanon on the night of 14/15 March, and in a few days occupied the entire southern part of the country except for the city of Tyre and its surrounding area.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIFIL

On 15 March, the Lebanese Government submitted a strong protest to the Security Council against the Israeli invasion, stating that it had no connection with the Palestinian commando operation. On 19 March, the Security Council adopted resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), in which it called upon Israel immediately to cease its military action and withdraw its forces from all Lebanese territory.

It also decided to establish immediately a United Nations interim force for southern Lebanon for an initial period of six months, subject to extension. The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) was set up with the mandate to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon, to restore international peace and security and to assist the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area. The first UNIFIL troops arrived in the area on 23 March 1978.

UNIFIL'S ACTIVITIES

Until now, however, it has not been possible for UNIFIL to carry out in full its original mandate. From its inception, the Force had to operate under extremely difficult conditions. The PLO and the Government of Israel never fully accepted the UNIFIL mandate with all its implications. Given these attitudes, the Force was prevented from deploying fully in the area evacuated by the Israeli forces between April and June 1978. In fact, the enclave along the border was turned over to the "de facto forces" (Christian and associated militias supported and supplied by Israel). Israel thus retained a degree of military power in the area and continued its fight against the PLO and its Lebanese allies. UNIFIL's efforts to implement its mandate in these conditions inevitably met with only partial success and caused the Force to suffer significant casualties.

In June 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon again. This invasion changed UNIFIL's situation drastically. For three years, UNIFIL in its entirety remained behind the

Israeli lines, with its role limited to providing protection and humanitarian assistance to the local population to the extent possible. In 1985, Israel carried out a partial withdrawal, but it retained control of an area in southern Lebanon, manned by the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) and by Lebanese de facto forces (DFF), the so-called "South Lebanon Army".

The situation in southern Lebanon continues to be tense and volatile. The boundaries of the Israeli-controlled area have not been clearly defined but are determined de facto by the forward positions of IDF/DFF. Within the area of operation of UNIFIL, IDF/DFF maintain 72 military positions. IDF/DFF remain targets for attacks by armed groups opposed to the occupation. For their part, IDF/DFF react vigorously to these attacks, often with heavy weapons and with air support from Israel.

UNIFIL has thus been prevented from carrying out its mandate. In the circumstances, it endeavours, to the best of its ability, to prevent its area of operations from being used for hostile activities and to protect civilians caught in the conflict. In carrying out its tasks, the Force is sometimes hampered by firing in close vicinity to its positions and personnel.

UNIFIL's operations are based on a network of positions which are manned 24 hours a day. The Force maintains 45 checkpoints, whose function is to control movement on the principal roads in UNIFIL's area; 95 observation posts, whose function is to observe movement on and off the roads; and 29 checkpoints/observation posts which combine the functions of control and observation. Each is assigned responsibility for ensuring that hostile activities are not undertaken from the area surrounding it. This involves not only keeping watch from the position but also patrolling on foot or by vehicle in its vicinity.

In addition, unarmed military observers of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) maintain five observation posts and operate five mobile teams in the area under Israeli control. The UNTSO observers are under the operational control of UNIFIL's Commander.

UNIFIL's network of positions and the patrols mounted from them also play a central role in the Force's performance of its humanitarian task. They provide the civilian population with protection and with a source of help if they are subjected to harassment. Within available resources, UNIFIL also provides civilians with medical supplies, water, food, fuel, electricity, engineering work and escort for farmers. UNIFIL medical centres and mobile teams have provided care to an average of 2,800 civilian patients per month and a field dental programme has also been provided.

In accordance with its mandate of assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the UNIFIL area, UNIFIL and the Lebanese military authorities worked out arrangements for the transfer to the Lebanese army of responsibility for the western part of the Force's Ghanaian battalion sector. The hand-over, which involved the vacating of eight UNIFIL positions, was completed in early April 1992. In a follow-up hand-over, additional area comprising three villages, including the former Ghanaian battalion headquarters at Marakah, was handed over to the Lebanese Army on 16 February 1993.

In January 1994, in his periodic report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that although UNIFIL continued to be prevented from implementing its mandate, its contribution to stability in the region and the protection it provided to the local population remained important. He recommended that the Council extend UNIFIL's mandate for a further period of six months, that is until 31 July 1994. The Security Council approved this recommendation.

COMPOSITION OF UNIFIL

In the course of 1992, the strength of UNIFIL was reduced by 10 per cent. At present, UNIFIL has 5,313 troops provided by the following countries (figures as at 30 April 1994):

COUNTRY	TROOPS
Fiji	643
Finland	541
France	441
Ghana	792
Ireland	739
Italy	42
Nepal	722
Norway	826
Poland	567
TOTAL	5,313

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

In addition, 59 military observers from UNTSO's Observer Group Lebanon assist the Force in the performance of its tasks. UNIFIL employs some 540 civilian staff, of whom 148 are recruited internationally.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The annual cost to the United Nations of UNIFIL is approximately $138 million. The costs of the operation are met by the assessed contributions of the United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the UNIFIL Special Account for the period from the inception of the operation to 30 April 1994 amounted to approximately $216 million.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS IRAQ-KUWAIT OBSERVATION MISSION

LOCATION: The demilitarized zone along the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait

HEADQUARTERS: Umm Qasr

DURATION: April 1991 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 3,645 military personnel

CURRENT STRENGTH: 251 military observers, 896 troops and support personnel, and 76 international and 128 local civilian staff

FATALITIES: 2 (as of 24 May 1994)

FORCE COMMANDER: Major-General Krishna Narayan Singh Thapa (Nepal)

BACKGROUND

On 2 August 1990, Iraq invaded and occupied Kuwait. The same day, the United Nations Security Council condemned the invasion and demanded Iraq's immediate and unconditional withdrawal. A few days later, the Council instituted economic sanctions against Iraq. The Council subsequently adopted a number of resolutions on various aspects of the situation and, on 29 November 1990, it decided to give Iraq until 15 January 1991 to implement those resolutions; if not, Member States cooperating with the Government of Kuwait were authorized to use "all necessary means" to uphold and implement the Council's resolutions and to restore international peace and security in the area.

The deadline passed and the next day the armed forces of those States began air attacks against Iraq, followed on 24 February by a ground offensive. Hostilities were suspended on 27 February, by which time the Iraqi forces had vacated Kuwait. On 3 April 1991, while still maintaining the economic sanctions against Iraq, the Security Council adopted resolution 687 (1991), which set detailed conditions for a cease-fire and established the machinery for ensuring implementation of those conditions. Following Iraq's acceptance of the resolution's provisions, the cease-fire became a formal one.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIKOM

By resolution 687 (1991) the Council established, among other things, a demilitarized zone (DMZ) along the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, to be monitored by a United Nations observer unit, and requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Council for approval a plan for the unit's immediate deployment. The Secretary-General reported back on 5 April 1991, and on 9 April the Security Council approved his plan for the setting up of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) (resolution 689 (1991)). It decided further that the modalities for the Mission should be reviewed every six months.

The mandate of the Mission is to monitor the Khawr 'Abd Allah waterway between Iraq and Kuwait and the DMZ; to deter violations of the boundary through its presence in, and surveillance of, the demilitarized zone; and to observe any hostile action mounted from the territory of one State against the other. The Khawr 'Abd Allah waterway is about 40 kilometres (25 miles) long. The DMZ, which is about 200 kilometres (125 miles) long, extends 10 kilometres (6 miles) into Iraq and 5 kilometres (3 miles) into Kuwait.

The military observers of UNIKOM are unarmed. Responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the DMZ rests with the Governments of Iraq and Kuwait in their respective parts of the zone. Police are allowed only sidearms.

According to its original mandate, UNIKOM did not have the authority or the capacity to take physical action to prevent the entry of military personnel or equipment into the DMZ.

UNIKOM'S ACTIVITIES

The UNIKOM advance party arrived in the area on 13 April 1991. By 6 May, the Mission was fully deployed. UNIKOM then monitored the withdrawal of the armed forces that were still deployed in its assigned zone. That withdrawal having been completed, the DMZ established by the Security Council came into effect at 2000 hours GMT on 9 May, and UNIKOM assumed in full its observation responsibilities.

Initially, to provide essential security during the setting-up phase, UNIKOM included five infantry companies, drawn from the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). These troops were withdrawn by the end of June 1991.

UNIKOM's concept of operations is based on a combination of patrol and observation bases, observation points, ground and air patrols, investigation teams and liaison with the parties at all levels.

UNIKOM enjoys full freedom of movement throughout the DMZ and observes the length and breadth of the zone. It verifies that no military personnel and equipment are within the zone and that no military fortifications and installations are maintained in it. For operational purposes, UNIKOM has divided the DMZ into three sectors. Each sector has a headquarters and six observation posts/patrol bases, from which the observers patrol their assigned sectors and visit temporary observation points established in areas of particular activity or where roads and tracks enter the DMZ. In fact, all movements, including supply runs, are used for observation. UNIKOM patrols the Khawr 'Abd Allah waterway by helicopter and fixed-wing aircraft. There are also air patrols in the DMZ, especially in the southern sector, where mines and unexploded ordnance limit UNIKOM's ability to carry out ground patrols.

UNIKOM has also maintained contact and provided technical support to other United Nations missions working in Iraq and Kuwait, in particular to the Iraq-Kuwait Boundary Demarcation Commission and to the United Nations office dealing with the return of property from Iraq to Kuwait. UNIKOM has provided movement control in respect of all United Nations aircraft operating in the area. The Mission also provided assistance in connection with the relocation of Iraqi citizens from the Kuwaiti side of the border to Iraq. This was completed in February 1994.

UNIKOM headquarters is located at Umm Qasr. The Mission maintains liaison offices in Baghdad and Kuwait City and a logistic base at Doha (Kuwait).

From May 1991 to January 1993, UNIKOM observed mainly three types of violations: minor incursions on the ground by small groups of soldiers, overflights by military aircraft, and the carrying by policemen of weapons other than sidearms. UNIKOM also investigated a number of complaints by Iraq and Kuwait.

REINFORCEMENT OF UNIKOM DECIDED

On 11 January 1993, following a series of incidents on the newly demarcated boundary between Iraq and Kuwait involving Iraqi intrusions into the Kuwaiti side of the DMZ and unauthorized retrieval of property from Kuwaiti territory, the Security Council issued a statement, in which it, *inter alia*, condemned such actions and invited the Secretary-General to explore the possibilities for restoring UNIKOM to its full strength and to consider in an emergency the need for rapid reinforcement, as well as any other suggestions with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of UNIKOM.

In response, the Secretary-General submitted, on 18 January, a report on this subject. He recalled that UNIKOM had been established as an observation mission. In case of violations, the observers, who were unarmed, reported and made representations, or representations were made at a higher level either in the field or at United Nations Headquarters. Under its original mandate, UNIKOM had neither the authority nor the means to enforce Security Council decisions.

The Secretary-General noted that the January 1993 border incidents had been closely monitored by UNIKOM and reported to United Nations Headquarters. In addition, the Mission made immediate representations to Iraqi personnel on the spot as well as to the Iraqi military authorities. Representations were also made at United Nations Headquarters.

The Secretary-General concluded that UNIKOM had thus performed the function for which it was designed and for which its strength was sufficient. If, however, the Security Council should decide that UNIKOM's present mandate did not permit an adequate response to such violations as had occurred and that UNIKOM should be able to prevent and redress them, the Secretary-General continued, then UNIKOM would require a capacity to take physical action. Such action could be taken to prevent or, if that failed, redress: (a) small-scale violations of the DMZ; (b) violations of the boundary between Iraq and Kuwait, for example by civilians or police; and (c) problems that might arise from the presence of Iraqi installations and Iraqi citizens and their assets in the DMZ on the Kuwaiti side of the newly demarcated boundary.

The Secretary-General noted that these tasks could not be performed by unarmed observers. In their place, UNIKOM would have to be provided with infantry in sufficient numbers. He estimated that three infantry battalions would be required, giving UNIKOM a strength of 3,645, including support elements. UNIKOM would be provided with the weapons integral to its infantry battalions, but not authorized to initiate enforcement action. It would use force only in self-defence, which would include resistance to attempts to prevent it by force from discharging its duties.

The Secretary-General emphasized that the scenario for a reinforced UNIKOM was based on the assumption that the Government of Iraq as well as the Government of Kuwait would cooperate with the restructured Mission. In the absence of such cooperation, it would become impossible for UNIKOM to carry out its functions, in which case the Security Council would need to consider alternative measures.

Subsequently, the Security Council, by its resolution 806 (1993) of 5 February 1993, approved the Secretary-General's report and requested him to plan and execute a phased deployment of the strengthening of UNIKOM. The Council also requested the Secretary-General to report to it on any step he intended to take following an initial deployment.

In his 2 April 1993 report, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council of his intention, in the first phase, to retain the military observers and to reinforce them by one mechanized infantry battalion to be deployed in the northern sector of the DMZ. The Mission's logistic support elements would also be slightly reinforced. On 13 April, the President of the Council informed the Secretary-General that the Council concurred with his recommendations.

The infantry battalion from Bangladesh was fully deployed in January 1994.

COMPOSITION

The authorized strength of the military observers is 300. Until March 1993, administrative and logistic support was provided by Canada (engineers), Chile (helicopters), Denmark (logistics) and Norway (medical). Canada withdrew its engineer unit at the end of March 1993 and the Secretary-General accepted an offer from Argentina to replace it. Chile withdrew its helicopter unit at the end of October 1992; it was replaced by a civilian unit, under contract to UNIKOM. Two fixed-wing aircraft operated by civilians have been made available at no cost to the United Nations by the Government of Switzerland. In addition, UNIKOM includes 76 international and 128 local civilian staff.

As at 30 April 1994, the following countries were providing military elements:

COUNTRY	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Argentina	49	6
Austria	12	6
Bangladesh	790	9
Canada		5
China		15
Denmark	45	6
Fiji		6
Finland		7
France		15
Ghana		6
Greece		6
Hungary		6
India		6
Indonesia		7
Ireland		5
Italy		7
Kenya		7
Malaysia		6
Nigeria		6
Norway		7
Pakistan		7
Poland		7
Romania		6
Russian Federation		14
Senegal		6
Singapore		7
Sweden		6
Thailand		6
Turkey		7
United Kingdom		15
United States		15
Uruguay		6
Venezuela		5
TOTAL	896	251

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The annual cost to the United Nations of a reinforced UNIKOM is approximately $70 million. Effective 1 November 1993, two thirds of this amount is being paid by the Government of Kuwait. The remainder is met by the assessed contributions of the United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the UNIKOM Special Account amounted to approximately $24 million.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION II

LOCATION: Angola

HEADQUARTERS: Luanda

DURATION: June 1991 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 50 military observers, 18 police observers, 11 military paramedics, 49 international civilian staff and 75 local staff

FATALITIES: 3 (as of 24 May 1994)

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND CHIEF OF MISSION: Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye (Mali)

CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVER: Major-General Chris Abutu Garuba (Nigeria)

BACKGROUND

The United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I) was originally established by the Security Council on 20 December 1988 at the request of the Governments of Angola and Cuba. Its task was to verify the phased and total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola in accordance with the timetable agreed between the two Governments. The withdrawal was completed by 25 May 1991 — more than one month before the scheduled date. On 6 June, the Secretary-General reported to the Council that UNAVEM I had carried out, fully and effectively, the mandate entrusted to it.

Meanwhile, on 17 May 1991, the Government of Angola requested the Secretary-General to ensure the participation of the United Nations in verifying the implementation of the Peace Accords for Angola ("Acordos de Paz"), initialled by the Angolan Government and the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) on 1 May 1991, and consequently to prolong UNAVEM's presence in Angola. In accordance with the Accords, the United Nations was to verify the arrangements agreed by the Angolan parties for the monitoring of the cease-fire and for the monitoring of the Angolan police during the cease-fire period. On 30 May, following the Secretary-General's recommendation, the Security Council adopted its resolution 696 (1991), entrusting a new mandate to UNAVEM (thereafter UNAVEM II) and establishing the Mission for a period of 17 months, until the general elections were held in Angola in the fall of 1992.

VERIFICATION OF CEASE-FIRE ARRANGEMENTS

The United Nations verification operation began as soon as the Angolan Peace Accords were formally signed on 31 May 1991. Advance parties of observers were deployed to the field on 2 June 1991. Subsequently, UNAVEM II teams of unarmed military observers were deployed at some 46 locations ("assembly areas") where the troops of the two sides were assembled during the cease-fire, as well as at several "critical points" (certain seaports, airports and border posts).

In essence, their task was to verify that joint monitoring groups, composed in equal numbers of representatives of the Angolan Government and of UNITA and responsible for monitoring on the spot the observance of the cease-fire, carried out their responsibilities. Working closely with these monitoring groups, UNAVEM II verification teams provided support in the investigation and resolution of alleged violations of the cease-fire. They responded to requests for assistance and used their good offices to resolve problems within monitoring groups. In addition, UNAVEM II took the initiative in monitoring some aspects of the Accords, such as the regular counting of troops and weapons in the assembly areas, as well as monitoring of unassembled troops, demobilized troops, and troops selected to join the new Angolan Armed Forces.

The neutrality of the Angolan police was to be verified by monitoring teams also composed of members designated by the Government of Angola and by UNITA. Their work was verified by UNAVEM II police observers. The monitoring teams and UNAVEM II observers were to visit police facilities, examine activities of the police and, if necessary, investigate alleged violations of political rights. The Angolan police monitoring teams were established in all 18 Angolan provinces only in June 1992, although UNAVEM II police observers were present in the designated areas by October 1991.

On many occasions the United Nations conveyed to the two sides suggestions to overcome difficulties related to the assembly and the demobilization of troops, proper custody of weapons and the monitoring of the police, as well as other matters relating to the peace process. At the request of the two parties, the United Nations launched an emergency food programme to relieve food shortages in the assembly areas.

ENLARGEMENT OF UNAVEM II'S MANDATE

The Peace Accords for Angola provided for "free and fair elections for a new Government" under "the supervision of international election observers". On 5 December 1991, the Secretary-General received two letters signed by the Minister for External Relations of Angola. One of the letters contained a request for United Nations technical assistance to help the Angolan Government to prepare for and conduct the forthcoming elections. The other letter contained a formal request to the Secretary-General to send United Nations observers to follow the Angolan electoral process until its completion in the fall of 1992. It was later announced that elections would be held on 29 and 30 September 1992.

An agreement on technical assistance was signed with the Angolan Government in January 1992. As regards United Nations observation of the first-ever elections in Angola, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council on 20 December 1991 that he intended to recommend that the Council authorize such a mission. On 6 February 1992, the Secretary-General informed the Council of his decision to appoint Miss Margaret Joan Anstee, a national of the United Kingdom, as his Special Representative to coordinate the current and projected activities of the United Nations in connection with the Angola Peace Accords, and as the Chief of UNAVEM II. On 3 March, following the Special Representative's visit to Angola, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his report with recommendations concerning the United Nations role in observing the forthcoming elections. On 24 March, the Security Council, by its resolution 747 (1992), decided to enlarge UNAVEM II's mandate to include election observation in Angola.

OBSERVATION OF ELECTORAL PROCESS

In March 1992, the office of the Special Representative was established in Luanda, the capital of Angola, to coordinate all United Nations activities related to the Angolan peace process. In addition to its deployed military and police observers and civilian staff, UNAVEM II was enlarged to include an Electoral Division, headed by a Chief Electoral Officer. Offices of the Electoral Division were established in Luanda, in the six Angolan regions and in the capitals of all 18 provinces. Approximately 100 international staff and the requisite number of local staff were deployed in the regional and provincial electoral offices.

The United Nations role was to observe and verify the elections, not to organize them. The electoral process was organized and directed by the National Electoral Council (NEC), on which all legalized political parties in Angola were represented, and supported by technical assistance provided by experts and consultants from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The electoral process comprised four phases: the registration of voters from 20 May to 10 August; the electoral campaign from 29 August to 28

September; the presidential and legislative elections on 29 and 30 September; and the counting of the votes, investigation of complaints and announcement of the final results by the President of NEC on 17 October.

In his report to the Security Council dated 9 September 1992, the Secretary-General stated that the results of the registration exercise had surpassed expectations, with NEC reporting the registration of 4.86 million eligible voters, representing some 92 per cent of an estimated voting population of 5.3 million.

The electoral campaign was conducted without major violence, although there were reports of intimidation by some political parties, notably UNITA and the Movimento Popular para a Libertaçao de Angola (MPLA), as well as difficulties of access to certain areas, particularly those controlled by UNITA. The 18 political parties which had presented candidates campaigned actively. There were complaints, especially from the smaller parties, about the continued existence of the Government and UNITA armies, the slow progress in demobilization and in forming the new Angolan Armed Forces, and lack of access to the Government-controlled radio and television, whose alleged partiality was criticized.

UNAVEM II electoral observers monitored the campaign, contributed to civic education programmes and provided information on UNAVEM II's role. In addition, UNAVEM II and UNDP organized the air support operation, consisting of 45 helicopters and 15 fixed-wing aircraft, to overcome the logistical difficulties in reaching the more inaccessible polling stations. For the observation and verification of the voting on 29 and 30 September 1992, UNAVEM II deployed 400 electoral observers. Operating largely as two-person mobile teams, the observers covered all 18 provinces and most of the 164 municipalities, and visited about 4,000 of some 6,000 polling stations.

As regards its mandate in military matters, UNAVEM II continued to carry out its verification functions at the assembly areas up to and after the announced disbandment of the two former armies of FAPLA (Government) and FALA (UNITA) on 27 September 1992. As the elections drew near, demobilization formally accelerated. By 7 October, a total of 96,620 Government troops had been demobilized, representing 80 per cent of the projected figure. However, a much lower proportion of ex-FALA troops were demobilized.

United Nations police observers continued their verification of police neutrality, with the Angolan joint monitoring groups being almost entirely dependent on UNAVEM II for transport and communications. Little progress was made in developing a representative national police force. Soon after the elections, however, UNITA withdrew its cooperation.

SITUATION DETERIORATES

On 1 October 1992, the Secretary-General's Special Representative issued a statement in which she noted that the great majority of the registered voters had cast their ballots in peaceful and orderly conditions, despite organizational and logistical difficulties.

However, complaints were raised on 3 October and thereafter by UNITA and some other parties of widespread, massive and systematic irregularities and fraud during the elections. The Secretary-General urged the leader of UNITA, Mr. Jonas Savimbi, not to reject the results of the elections, pending investigation of UNITA's complaints, and emphasized the urgency of a meeting between him and President José Eduardo dos Santos. The complaints were investigated by NEC, with the active assistance of UNAVEM II. Investigative commissions were sent to all 18 provinces, but found no conclusive evidence of systematic fraud.

Meanwhile, a major violation of the Peace Accords occurred on 5 October, when 11 former UNITA generals, including the commander of UNITA's army, withdrew from the new, unified Angolan Armed Forces, in protest at what they called "fraud and cheating" in the elections.

In view of these developments, the Security Council sent to Angola, from 11 to 14 October, an ad hoc Commission, composed of representatives of Cape Verde, Morocco, the Russian Federation and the United States, to support implementation of the Peace Accords. Notwithstanding all diplomatic efforts, the political and military situation in the country continued to deteriorate.

On 17 October 1992, the President of NEC announced the official election results. More than 91 per cent of those registered had voted. MPLA had won the legislative elections, with 53.74 per cent of the votes, against UNITA's 34.1 per cent. In the presidential elections, President dos Santos had received 49.57 per cent, against Mr. Savimbi's 40.07 per cent; since neither had achieved 50 per cent, the Electoral Law required a second round. The Secretary-General's Special Representative issued a statement on 17 October, saying "there was no conclusive evidence of major systematic or widespread fraud, or that the irregularities were of magnitude to have a significant effect on the results officially announced on 17 October". She emphasized that, "with all deficiencies taken into account, the elections held on 29 and 30 September 1992 can be considered to have been generally free and fair".

Immediately after the election results were announced, UNITA launched a nationwide operation to occupy municipalities by force and remove the Government's local administrative structures. On 27 October, the Secretary-General conveyed to the Security Council his serious concern at the rising tension. The Council once again called upon both parties to abide by all their commitments under the Peace Accords, in particular the confinement of their troops and collection of weapons, demobilization and the formation of the unified Angolan Armed Forces. It requested UNITA to respect the results of the elections and urged the leaders of the two parties to engage in immediate dialogue to enable the second round of the presidential elections to be held.

On 30 October, the Security Council, faced with further alarming reports of resumed hostilities in many parts of the country, adopted resolution 785 (1992), extending the existing mandate of UNAVEM II until 30 November 1992, and endorsing the statement by the Secretary-General's Special Representative on the elections having been generally free and fair.

Barely 23 hours later, on 31 October, heavy fighting broke out between the Government and UNITA forces, especially in Luanda. The Secretary-General's efforts, supported by a number of Member States, resulted in a cease-fire which came officially into effect on 2 November. UNAVEM II, which kept its military, police and civilian presence intact at 67 locations throughout the country, worked to maintain the cease-fire, patrolling trouble spots and using its good offices to foster dialogue between the parties.

DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

Diplomatic efforts continued after the cease-fire to arrange a meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi. Immediately after the cease-fire, the Government stipulated four conditions for resuming political dialogue between the two leaders: (a) commitment to uphold the cease-fire, pursue dialogue and renounce violence; (b) commitment to the principles of the Peace Accords; (c) acceptance of the results of the September 1992 legislative elections; and (d) greater United Nations involvement in the peace process and the second round of the presidential elections.

On 5 November 1992, the Secretary-General sent Mr. Marrack Goulding, then Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, to Angola to assist in implementing the cease-fire, put the peace process back on track and explore the future role of UNAVEM II. After the meetings in Angola, the Secretary-General's envoys concluded that the desire for a larger United Nations involvement constituted the main common ground between the two sides. Also, as a result of a telephone conversation and an exchange of letters with Mr. Goulding, Mr. Savimbi confirmed, in a letter dated 12 November, that UNITA accepted the results of the legislative elections so as to permit the implementation of the peace process.

SECRETARY-GENERAL EVALUATES SITUATION

On 25 November 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a detailed report on the situation in Angola, and recommended extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II for a further two-month period, until 31 January 1993. In the report, the Secretary-General stated that although it was too soon to analyse the causes of the deteriorating situation in Angola, it was already clear that a "root cause" was the incomplete fulfilment of key provisions in the Peace Accords. Among those failings were the less than effective demobilization and storage of weapons; the delay in creating the unified Angolan Armed Forces, which only formally came into being two days before the elections; the failure to re-establish effective central administration in many parts of the country; and the delay in setting up a neutral police force. It had also been difficult to create in 16 months, after as many years of civil war, an atmosphere of mutual confidence, tolerance and respect.

Yet, the Secretary-General emphasized, "it is also too soon to despair of the Angolan peace process", noting the renewed commitment to the process by both parties. At the same time, he made it clear that he could not recommend an enlargement of UNAVEM II's mandate and strength unless both sides could convince him that they would be genuine in their adherence to, and fulfilment of, the Peace Accords, especially the key provisions relating to the dissolution of the existing armies and the creation of unified and non-partisan military and police forces.

On 30 November, the Security Council, by its resolution 793 (1992), extended UNAVEM II's mandate until 31 January 1993. The Council demanded, *inter alia*, that the Government of Angola and UNITA scrupulously observe the cease-fire, stop military confrontations and all offensive troop movements and create the conditions for completing the peace process in Angola. It appealed to the two parties to engage in a dialogue aimed at national reconciliation and at the participation of all parties in the democratic process, and to agree on a clear timetable for the fulfilment of their commitments under the Peace Accords.

Meanwhile, the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative resulted in a meeting under UNAVEM II auspices on 26 November 1992 in the southern provincial capital of Namibe between senior delegations from the two sides, where they pledged themselves to full acceptance of the validity of the Peace Accords, to an effective cease-fire throughout the country and the immediate cessation of all offensive movements, and to the need for a larger United Nations involvement. However, almost immediately, this progress was followed by a set-back when, on 29 November, UNITA forces took the northern provincial capital of Uige and an important airbase nearby, Negage. Attempts to restore dialogue between the two sides, including the Secretary-General's personal invitation to President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to meet with him at an agreed location, failed.

THREE OPTIONS FOR UNAVEM II

On 8 January 1993, the Secretary-General reported that the situation in Angola had severely deteriorated since the beginning of the year. There were outbreaks of heavy fighting in at least 10 provincial capitals and other population centres, with each side blaming the other for initiating those hostilities. In his further report submitted to the Council on 21 January, the Secretary-General stated that "to all intents and purposes, Angola has returned to civil war, and is probably in an even worse situation than that which prevailed before the Peace Accords were signed in May 1991". The conflict engulfed towns and population centres in a way unprecedented during the previous 16 years, and there were "disturbing but unconfirmed reports" that new supplies of arms might be entering the country.

In addition, the Secretary-General stated, the widespread fighting and the absence of government administration in much of the countryside had led to widespread hunger and the flight of large numbers of people from the towns involved in the conflict. "An already serious humanitarian situation has become catastrophic in many areas", he pointed out, and the capacity of international humanitarian agencies to provide assistance had been severely disrupted.

According to the report, the crisis arising after the September 1992 elections thrust UNAVEM II into a central mediating role. However, with the outbreak of violent and widespread hostilities, and the total collapse of the joint monitoring mechanisms, "UNAVEM II's original mandate has become less and less relevant". Even its mediating role had been increasingly limited by the deteriorating security situation. At the same time, UNAVEM II teams in the field faced mounting dangers, which became so extensive that 45 of UNAVEM's 67 locations had to be evacuated.

The Secretary-General outlined three options for the future of UNAVEM II. The first option was to maintain the mission at its current strength; the second was to reduce UNAVEM II's provincial deployment to approximately six locations. The Secretary-General's preferred option was to confine UNAVEM II's deployment to the capital, Luanda, and to one or two outstations but with the capability to deploy to six provincial sites if needed, to support his Special Representative's peacemaking efforts. At the same time, the Council stressed its readiness to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process.

On 29 January, the Security Council, by its resolution 804 (1993), extended the mandate of UNAVEM II for a period of three months, until 30 April 1993. It did so with the proviso that, as a provisional measure based on security considerations, the Secretary-General could concentrate UNAVEM II's deployment in Luanda and, at his discretion, in other provincial locations, with the levels of personnel and equipment he deemed appropriate to allow for the subsequent expeditious redeployment of UNAVEM II as soon as this became feasible. By other provisions of the resolution, the Council demanded, *inter alia*, that the two parties establish a cease-fire immediately, restore continued and meaningful dialogue and agree on a clear timetable for the full implementation of the Peace Accords. Subsequently, the Secretary-General decided to temporarily decrease the strength of the Mission.

FURTHER EFFORTS TO RESTORE PEACE

In January 1993, fighting intensified throughout the Angolan national territory between the Angolan Government and UNITA forces, particularly in the central provincial capital of Huambo. After repeated efforts by the Secretary-General's Special Representative to arrange a dialogue between the two sides, the Government and UNITA agreed to hold talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to discuss the fulfilment of various prerequisites for the effective re-launching of the peace process in Angola.

During the first round of the Addis Ababa talks, which were held from 27 to 30 January 1993 under United Nations auspices and the chairmanship of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, the Government of Angola and UNITA reached agreement on a number of questions, but some key issues remained to be resolved before a cease-fire could be arranged. The parties accordingly agreed to meet again in Addis Ababa on 10 February, in order to resolve the outstanding questions. Later, at the request of UNITA, which indicated that its delegation was encountering logistical difficulties, and with the agreement of both sides, the date for the second meeting was postponed to 26 February 1993. Subsequently, the meeting in Addis Ababa had to be cancelled, due to the failure of UNITA to send its delegation there.

In the light of the steadily worsening situation and the collapse of the Addis Ababa negotiations, the Secretary-General asked his Special Representative to come to New York from 9 to 12 March 1993 for consultations. In her briefing to the Security Council, Miss Anstee outlined several options for UNAVEM II. Following informal consultations, the Security Council, by resolution 811 (1993) of 12 March, demanded an immediate cease-fire throughout the country. The Council also, *inter alia*, called on the two parties, particularly UNITA, to produce early evidence that real progress had been made towards implementing the Peace Accords, and invited the Secretary-General to seek to organize a meeting between the Government and UNITA at the highest possible level before 30 April 1993.

Consequently, the Secretary-General instructed Miss Anstee to consult with the Government and with UNITA on a date and venue for the resumption of direct talks under the auspices of the United Nations. As a result of these consultations, agreement was reached to meet in Abidjan on 12 April 1993 at the invitation of the Government of Côte d'Ivoire.

The Abidjan meeting began as scheduled, under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, and lasted six weeks. Regrettably, while very nearly reaching success, it ended, on 21

May 1993, without full agreement on the text of what became known as the Protocol of Abidjan.

In his 25 May 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General described the breakdown of the Abidjan talks as "a major and tragic setback to the peace process". Having stated that it would be unthinkable for the United Nations to abandon Angola at this critical juncture, he recommended a further interim extension of UNAVEM II, on a reduced basis, and in a manner which would respond to the evolution of the military and political situation. Such a mission would provide good offices and mediation, with the goal of restoring a cease-fire and reinstating the peace process along the lines of the Peace Accords. At the same time, the Secretary-General stressed that with the humanitarian situation deteriorating daily, it would also be important during this interim period to devote increasing resources to coordination of humanitarian relief activities throughout Angola. To this end, a United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit, headed by a senior official with extensive operational experience, was set up in Luanda in late April 1993, under the overall authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

On 27 May 1993, the Secretary-General announced that he had agreed to accede to Ms. Anstee's wish to be released from her responsibilities. Subsequently, he appointed Mr. Alioune Blondin Beye, former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mali, as his Special Representative for Angola, effective 28 June.

On 1 June, the Security Council, by its resolution 834 (1993), decided to extend UNAVEM II's mandate for a period of forty-five days until 15 July 1993 and stressed the importance of the functions of good offices and mediation by UNAVEM II and the Special Representative. The Council also welcomed the steps taken by the Secretary-General to strengthen United Nations humanitarian activities in Angola.

On 15 July 1993, the mandate of UNAVEM II was further extended by Security Council resolution 851 (1993) for a period of two months until 15 September. In recommending the extension, the Secretary-General noted that UNAVEM II had become an essential factor in a continuous United Nations effort to facilitate the resumption of negotiations, to support humanitarian activities in the country, as well as an indispensable channel for communication between the parties. By the same resolution, the Council reiterated its demand that UNITA accept unreservedly the results of the elections and abide fully by the Peace Accords.

SITUATION OF UNAVEM II

UNAVEM II continued to be deployed at five locations (Luanda, Lubango, Namibe, Benguela and Sumbe), with its military and police observers patrolling the areas, maintaining liaison with the respective local authorities, rendering support to humanitarian assistance operations, conducting investigations and other activities. In this connection, the Secretary-General stated in his 13 September 1993 report to the Security Council that the present number of international civil staff was inadequate to carry out effectively the various tasks required under UNAVEM II's mandate, especially that of mediation and good offices, and suggested that the number be increased to at least 59 persons.

On 15 September, the Security Council, by resolution 864 (1993), further extended the existing mandate of UNAVEM II for a period of three months. It reiterated its readiness to consider expanding substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in the event of significant progress in the peace process.

SANCTIONS AGAINST UNITA IMPOSED

By the same resolution, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, decided that all States should prevent the sale or supply of weapons, ammunition and military equipment as well as petroleum products to Angola other than through points of entry named by the Government of Angola. The embargo was to enter into force in 10 days unless a cease-fire was established. The Council also expressed its readiness to consider the imposition of further measures, including trade measures against UNITA and restrictions on the travel of UNITA personnel, unless by 1 November 1993 the Secretary-General reported that an effective cease-fire had been established and that agreement had been reached on the full implementation of the

Peace Accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council. It also decided to establish a committee to monitor the sanctions. The oil and arms embargo came into force at midnight on 25-26 September 1993.

In the meantime, the United Nations has continued its efforts to facilitate the resumption of the peace process in consultation with the Angolan parties and interested countries, including, in particular, the observer States to the Peace Accords — Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States. Following extensive consultations, the Government of Angola and UNITA began exploratory talks in Lusaka, Zambia, on 25 October 1993 under the auspices of the United Nations. These talks were made possible by positive steps taken by both sides, including UNITA's proclamation of a unilateral cease-fire, its acceptance of the general legal framework of the Peace Accords and its agreement to withdraw from the localities it had occupied since the resumption of the hostilities.

As requested by Security Council resolution 864 (1993), the Secretary-General reported back on 27 October. He stated that not enough progress had been made towards implementing the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions, and therefore recommended that the Council impose additional measures against UNITA. However, the Secretary-General said the Council should postpone such action until 1 December in view of the fact that the Angolan Government and UNITA were holding talks.

The Secretary-General recommended that UNAVEM II's authorized strength be increased from 50 to 175 military observers, from 18 to 60 police monitors, and from 11 to 14 military paramedics. Additional international and local staff would also be needed. These personnel would be deployed in the event of a breakthrough and would enhance the mission's ability to verify major developments on the ground and to provide good offices. He appealed to the Government of Angola and UNITA to make full use of the opportunity and to consolidate the progress made so far in the search for a solution to the conflict in Angola. He also appealed to the international community for further generous support to meet the growing humanitarian needs, noting that stocks of relief supplies were inadequate.

In his statement of 1 November 1993, the President of the Security Council affirmed, on behalf of the Council, complete support for the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in their efforts aimed at the earliest resolution of the Angolan crisis and encouraged the Secretary-General to carry out urgent contingency planning for the possible augmentation of the strength of the Mission. The Council expressed its readiness to impose further sanctions against UNITA at any time it observed that UNITA was not cooperating in good faith to implement the cease-fire, the Peace Accords and relevant Council resolutions.

PEACE TALKS BEGIN

The exploratory talks, held from 25 to 31 October 1993 in Lusaka, resulted in the acceptance by UNITA of the validity of the 1991 Peace Accords and the validity of the results of the legislative and presidential elections of 29 and 30 September 1992. UNITA also agreed to withdraw its troops from the localities occupied since the resumption of the hostilities and to return its troops to United Nations-monitored areas as a transitional measure pending full implementation of the Peace Accords.

Following the exploratory talks, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, in consultation with the representatives of the three observer States, set the date and venue for the talks. Accordingly, the Angolan peace talks began at Lusaka on 15 November 1993. By 11 December 1993, agreement was reached on the general and specific principles as well as on the modalities relating to all military issues on the agenda: the re-establishment of the cease-fire; the withdrawal, quartering and demilitarization of all UNITA military forces; the disarming of all civilians; and the completion of the formation of the Angolan Armed Forces.

On 14 December 1993, the Secretary-General submitted a report to the Security Council in which, in view of the encouraging results achieved at Lusaka under United Nations auspices, he recommended the further postponement of action to impose additional measures against UNITA. He also recommended that the mandate of UNAVEM II be extended for three months.

The Security Council, by its resolution 890 (1993) of 15 December, agreed with the Secretary-General's recommendations and called upon both parties to honour the commitments already made by them at the talks in Lusaka. It urged them to exercise the maximum restraint and to stop immediately all military actions, and to agree on the modalities for the establishment of an effective and sustainable cease-fire and to conclude a peaceful settlement as soon as possible.

POLITICAL PROCESS CONTINUES

Following the 11 December 1993 agreement on the military issues, the discussions moved to the political issues, including the questions of the police and national reconciliation. By 31 January 1994, after protracted negotiations, the parties reached an agreement on the general and specific principles and on the modalities relating to the police.

On 17 February 1994, following several rounds of proximity talks, an agreement was also reached on a document containing a revised text of the general principles concerning the question of national reconciliation.

Since then, the Lusaka peace talks have focused on efforts to find ways to bridge the gap between the positions of the parties on the specific principles relating to the question of national reconciliation, which includes the allocation of high-level government posts to UNITA.

It was expected that once agreement was reached on this issue, the remaining items on the agenda would be discussed. Those included the future mandate of the United Nations and the role of the observer States, the conclusion of the electoral process and the re-establishment of a national administration throughout the country.

FIGHTING PERSISTS

The military situation in Angola has remained volatile. Fighting in many provinces of the country continued and intermittently intensified; several major cities remained under siege by one or the other side resulting in increased hardship for the civilian population and aggravating the already disastrous humanitarian situation.

In the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 10 February 1994, the Council deplored the great loss of life and destruction of property caused by the outbreak of fighting at several locations throughout Angola and stressed that the only way to achieve an effective, verifiable and sustainable cease-fire was for the Government and UNITA to conclude and sign a comprehensive peace agreement. It called upon the parties to honour their commitments, to exercise maximum restraint, to put an immediate halt to all offensive military actions and to commit themselves to the urgent conclusion of the Lusaka talks.

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

From the outset of the renewed civil conflict in Angola, the United Nations agencies and programmes have made intensive efforts to provide humanitarian assistance to all Angolans in need. The United Nations Humanitarian Assistance Unit plays a major coordinating role in this process. On 21 May 1993, the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs launched an inter-agency appeal for Angola, seeking some $226 million in emergency humanitarian assistance for 2 million Angolans in need.

In July-August 1993, the situation in Angola worsened further despite all efforts by the Secretary-General, his Special Representative, as well as a series of diplomatic initiatives undertaken by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), several African leaders and the three observer States. According to the Secretary-General's 13 September 1993 report to the Security Council, some 3 million people, particularly the most vulnerable population groups — children, women and the elderly — suffered from the consequences of the conflict. It was estimated that during 1993 more than 1,000 persons died every day from the direct or indirect effects of the war.

In the coastal provinces and other areas considered secure, the relief programme initiated by the United

Nations, in cooperation with national and international non-governmental organizations, brought food aid and other emergency assistance to large numbers of Angolans displaced by the war or affected by the countrywide economic decline. However, the implementation of relief operations in the interior of the country and in zones of active conflict, where the needs are particularly acute, encountered serious difficulties. It was only in October 1993, following intensive negotiations with the two parties on humanitarian access and a general decrease in the intensity of fighting countrywide, that relief flights were able to reach besieged cities such as Kuito and Huambo, whose populations had been cut off from international assistance for many months.

In many of these previously inaccessible communities, people were found to be starving to death, and the malnutrition rates in many cases were higher than 35 per cent. The United Nations started a massive programme of humanitarian assistance with the World Food Programme (WFP) spearheading the effort by providing air transport of relief supplies for other United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Donor response to the May 1993 appeal improved considerably, and nearly 50 per cent of the $226 million target was reached by the end of January 1994.

Although the overall humanitarian situation in Angola improved in January-February 1994, hundreds of people were still dying every day due to starvation, related disease, war injuries and land-mine explosions.

On 28 February 1994, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs launched the 1994 revised inter-agency appeal for Angola simultaneously in Luanda, New York and Geneva. The appeal seeks $179 million for multi-sectoral emergency aid to be delivered by United Nations agencies and international and national non-governmental organizations between February and June 1994. It is estimated that at least 3.3 million Angolans — over a quarter of the total population — are currently in need of some kind of relief assistance, compared to 2 million identified in the original appeal of May 1993.

The largest component of the appeal is food aid requested by WFP, amounting to some $84 million. The total cash funding required by UNICEF is $23 million, by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) almost $21 million, UNHCR approximately $9 million, and the World Health Organization (WHO) $4 million. UNDP, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the United Nations Volunteers also have small components in the appeal. Multi-sectoral funding requirements of non-governmental organizations stand at over $24 million.

UNAVEM II MANDATE FURTHER EXTENDED

In a report submitted to the Security Council on 9 March 1994, the Secretary-General reviewed the negotiating process and the military and humanitarian situation in Angola. He recommended that the Council extend UNAVEM II at its current strength for an additional three months. The Secretary-General also recommended that the Council "authorize in principle" an increase in the operation's existing strength to its previous level of 350 military observers, 126 police observers and 14 military medical staff, with an appropriate number of international and local civilian staff. The additional personnel would be deployed when an overall settlement had been agreed or when the Secretary-General advised the Council that the successful conclusion of the Lusaka talks was imminent. In this connection, the Secretary-General stated that following such an agreement, it would be important for the United Nations to be able to deploy immediately military and police observers, at least in the most sensitive regions of the country. Failure to do so could jeopardize a settlement in its initial and most critical stages.

The Secretary-General also recommended that the Council continue adhering to the provisions of paragraph 14 of its resolution 890 (1993), in which it decided not to impose at present the additional measures against UNITA.

On 16 March 1994, the Security Council adopted its resolution 903 (1994), by which it decided to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II until 31 May 1994 and not to impose, at present, additional measures against UNITA. The Council also declared its readiness, in principle, to consider promptly authorizing an increase in the strength of UNAVEM II to its previous level, following a report from the Secretary-General that the parties had reached an agreement. It invited the Secretary-General to proceed with contingency planning in that regard.

Demanding the end to all offensive military actions, the Council called upon both parties to honour commitments already made; and urged them to redouble their efforts to complete the remaining points on the agenda of the Lusaka talks, attain a sustainable cease-fire and conclude a peaceful settlement without "procrastination".

In addition, it called for full cooperation of all the parties to guarantee the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance and strongly appealed to the international community to respond generously to the 1994 revised inter-agency appeal for Angola.

PEACE TALKS STALLED

Efforts have continued at all levels to make further progress at the Lusaka peace talks. The discussions have focused since February 1994 on the specific principles and the modalities pertaining to the question of national reconciliation. Following consultations on proposals presented by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, the Government and UNITA have agreed on 12 of the 18 specific principles. However, one of the six remaining principles — the question of UNITA's participation in the management of State affairs, including the crucial issue of the allocation of senior government post to UNITA — has caused the talks to stall.

On 31 March 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on the deadlock in the negotiating process. He was convinced, however, that the remaining issues relating to national reconciliation could be resolved if approached with realism and the necessary political will. The Secretary-General urged the parties to the conflict to make every possible effort to show the flexibility needed to reach a comprehensive settlement.

The Secretary-General reiterated that it would be necessary to strengthen UNAVEM II as soon as a comprehensive peace agreement had been reached. He stressed that UNAVEM II would need adequate and timely financial resources in order to consolidate the agreement at its initial and most critical stage.

On 14 April 1994, the Security Council, in a letter from its President to the Secretary-General, expressed concern at continuing outbreaks of hostilities in Angola and reaffirmed the importance its members attached to the "prompt and successful" conclusion of the Lusaka peace talks. The Council also reaffirmed its readiness, depending on the progress achieved towards the full implementation of the Peace Accords and relevant resolutions of the Security Council, to consider further action in accordance with its previous resolutions.

COMPOSITION OF UNAVEM II

The current authorized strength of UNAVEM II is 50 military observers, 18 police observers, 11 military paramedics, 49 international civilian staff and some 75 local staff deployed at Luanda, Lubango, Namibe, Benguela and Sumbe.

Originally, UNAVEM II's authorized strength was 350 military observers and 90 police observers. There were also a civilian air unit and a medical unit, as well as some 87 international and 155 local civilian staff. In May 1992, the Secretary-General recommended, and the Security Council agreed, to increase the police strength of the Mission to 126 officers. Military and police observers were provided by Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Hungary, India, Ireland, Jordan, Malaysia, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Senegal, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, former Yugoslavia and Zimbabwe. In addition, during the polling, the Electoral Division fielded a total of 400 electoral observers. They were of some 90 nationalities and included staff members from the United Nations system and observers contributed by Member States. UNAVEM II's military and police observers also participated in the observation of the electoral process.

As at 30 April 1994, military and police personnel were contributed by the following countries:

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Argentina	3		2
Brazil	6	11	8
Congo			2
Guinea Bissau			2
Hungary			4
India			3
Jordan			2
Malaysia	3		1
Morocco	1		
Netherlands	2		2
New Zealand			3
Nigeria			5
Norway			4
Slovak Republic			5
Sweden			3
Zimbabwe	2		4
TOTAL	17	11	50

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The annual cost to the United Nations of UNAVEM II is approximately $25 million. The costs of the operation are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM I and UNAVEM II) amounted to approximately $31 million.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN EL SALVADOR

LOCATION: El Salvador

HEADQUARTERS: San Salvador

DURATION: July 1991 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: Approximately 1,000 military and police personnel, 170 international civilian staff, and 187 local staff

FATALITIES: 2 (as of 24 May 1994)

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND CHIEF OF MISSION: Mr. Enrique ter Horst (Venezuela)

BACKGROUND

ONUSAL was established under Security Council resolution 693 (1991) of 20 May 1991. Its divisions, set up at different times during the course of the mission, are: Human Rights, Military and Police. An Electoral Division was created in September 1993, pursuant to Security Council resolution 832 (1993) and was dissolved on 30 April 1994 upon the culmination of the electoral process. The first Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Chief of Mission of ONUSAL was Mr. Iqbal Riza (Pakistan), who served until March 1993. He was succeeded by Mr. Augusto Ramirez-Ocampo (Colombia), who served until March 1994, when he was succeeded by Mr. Enrique ter Horst (Venezuela).

The establishment of ONUSAL in 1991 came about as a result of a complex negotiating process, initiated by the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) in September 1989 and conducted by the parties under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General. The objective of the negotiations was to achieve a series of political agreements aimed at resolving the prolonged armed conflict in El Salvador by political means as speedily as possible, promoting democratization in the country, guaranteeing unrestricted respect for human rights and reunifying Salvadorian society. It was envisaged that implementation of all agreements that might be signed between the two parties would be subject to verification by the United Nations.

The first substantive agreement was achieved on 26 July 1990, when the Government of El Salvador and FMLN signed, at San José, Costa Rica, the Agreement on Human Rights. This Agreement provided for the establishment of a United Nations verification mission to monitor nationwide respect for and the guarantee of human rights and fundamental freedoms in El Salvador. According to the Agreement, the Mission was to take up its duties as of the cessation of the armed conflict. Shortly after signing the Agreement, however, the two parties independently requested that the Mission be set up even before a cease-fire, leading the Secretary-General to send a preliminary mission in March 1991 to help him determine the feasibility of acceding to this request.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ONUSAL

On 20 May 1991, following the Secretary-General's recommendation, the Security Council, by its resolution 693 (1991), decided to establish the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL), as an integrated peace-keeping operation, to monitor all agreements concluded between the Government of El Salvador and FMLN. The Mission's initial mandate was to verify the compliance by the parties with the San José Agreement on Human Rights.

At that stage, the tasks of the Mission included actively monitoring the human rights situation in El Salvador; investigating specific cases of alleged human rights violations; promoting human rights in the country; making recommendations for the elimination of violations; and reporting on these matters to the Secretary-General and, through him, to the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council.

VERIFICATION OF SAN JOSÉ AGREEMENT

ONUSAL was launched on 26 July 1991, at which time it absorbed a small preparatory office established in San Salvador in January of that year. In assuming its initial tasks, ONUSAL adopted a two-phase approach. During the preparatory phase, from July through September, ONUSAL set up its regional offices and laid the operational and conceptual bases for its future work. On 1 October 1991, the Mission entered its second phase of operations, in which it began to investigate cases and situations involving allegations of human rights violations and to follow them up systematically with the competent State organs and with FMLN. The purpose of these activities was to establish the veracity of such allegations and, where required, to follow the actions taken to identify and punish those responsible and to deter such violations in future. During this phase, ONUSAL significantly expanded its contacts with the parties, establishing flexible, stable coordination mechanisms with them. In addition, the Mission initiated both a human rights education programme and an information campaign on human rights.

FIRST ENLARGEMENT OF MANDATE

Meanwhile, steady progress was made in the negotiations on other political agreements aimed at ending the armed conflict in El Salvador. On 31 December 1991, following more than two weeks of protracted negotiations at United Nations Headquarters in New York, the parties signed the Act of New York which, combined with the agreements previously signed at San José (26 July 1990), Mexico City (27 April 1991) and New York (25 September 1991), completed the negotiations on all substantive issues of the peace process. The parties also agreed that the final Peace Agreement would be signed at Mexico City on 16 January 1992.

The Peace Agreement included two sections in particular that required a substantial enlargement of ONUSAL's mandate, namely, those on the cessation of the armed conflict, according to which ONUSAL was to verify all aspects of the cease-fire and the separation of forces, and on the National Civil Police, which envisaged that ONUSAL should monitor the maintenance of public order during the transition period while the new National Civil Police was being set up.

On 14 January 1992, following the Secretary-General's recommendation, the Security Council, by its resolution 729 (1992), unanimously decided to enlarge ONUSAL's mandate and to increase its strength in order to fulfil verification requirements of the agreements. After signature of the "Peace Agreement" in Mexico City on 16 January 1992, the Secretary-General took immediate steps to enable the Mission to implement its expanded mandate.

ONUSAL STRUCTURE

The Human Rights Division was established in ONUSAL's first phase of operation to verify the implementation of the Agreement on Human Rights. Following the enlargement of ONUSAL's mandate on 14 January 1992, two new Divisions — Military and Police — were established.

All ONUSAL Divisions are under the overall direction of the Chief of Mission, whose office, composed of a team of political affairs officers, is directly responsible for monitoring and promoting the implementation of all the political aspects of the Peace Agreement.

HUMAN RIGHTS DIVISION

The Human Rights Division, which continues to be responsible for verifying the implementation of the Human Rights Agreement, now comprises approximately 30 human rights observers and legal advisers.

The Mission's Regional Coordinators also deal with all the human rights aspects of the Mission's mandate, and report directly to the Director of the Division in this respect. The active verification carried out by the Division is directed not only at an objective recording of facts, but also at the exercise of good offices aimed at assisting efforts by Salvadorians to find a remedy to violations. The Division also cooperates with Salvadorian institutions to strengthen their ability to work in promoting human rights. Of particular importance in this regard is the Division's cooperation with the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights and the Division's activities with human rights non-governmental organizations, with a view to contributing to the training of their personnel and enhancing their leadership capacity.

During the course of the Mission, the Director of the Human Rights Division has prepared 10 periodic reports reflecting the situation of human rights in the country. These reports have been submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly and the Security Council. Beginning with the ninth report, the Division has included an analysis of trends, examining the quantitative data on a composite basis and making possible a qualitative approach to identifying trends in the evolution of the human rights situation.

MILITARY DIVISION

From its establishment in July 1991, the Mission benefited from the services of 15 military officers from Canada, Brazil, Ecuador, Spain and Venezuela, who provided liaison with the military chiefs of the two parties to the conflict, in order to facilitate the Mission's complex tasks. The officers also carried out, jointly with the United Nations Observer Mission in Central America (ONUCA), operations through which FMLN commanders in the field were escorted from their respective conflict zones to and from the negotiations in Mexico and New York.

Once the Peace Agreement was signed, the Military Division, established on 20 January 1992 with an authorized strength of 380 military observers, was responsible for verifying the cessation of the armed conflict, dealing with the redeployment of the Armed Forces of El Salvador to the positions they would maintain in normal peace time, and the concentration of the FMLN forces in agreed "designated locations" in the areas of conflict. Its function was to monitor the troops of both parties in these locations, verify the inventories of weapons and personnel, authorize and accompany the movements of both forces, and receive and investigate complaints of violations. The Division was reduced in number following the culmination, on 15 December 1992, of the cease-fire process. It was further reduced after 31 May 1993, given the advances in the peace process (*see Composition, below*). ONUSAL military observers have continued to carry out a number of verification tasks within the framework of the Peace Agreement. The Division is also engaged in the coordination of the Plan for the Prevention of Accidents from Mines, and has helped control and coordinate the clearing of 425 minefields.

POLICE DIVISION

From its inception, ONUSAL benefited from the service of 16 police officials from Spain, France and Italy.

One of the fundamental components of the Peace Agreements is the creation of a new Savadorian police force, the National Civil Police (PNC), to replace the old public security structures. The Police Division of ONUSAL, composed mostly of specialists in the organization and operation of civilian police forces, monitors National Police activities during the transition from armed conflict to national reconciliation, thereby providing the Salvadorian people with a sense of security. Although never realized, the authorized strength of the Police Division is 631; its current strength is 272. The deployment of police observers throughout the territory of El Salvador began on 7 February 1992.

ONUSAL police observers also supervised and provided instruction to the Auxiliary Transitory Police (PAT), which operated between October 1992 and July 1993. PAT was responsible for maintaining public order and security in the former zones of conflict until their substitution by the new National Civil Police. It was made up of recruits from the National Public Security Academy, which began its activities on 1 September 1992. ONUSAL monitors the admission examinations to the Academy and recommends improvements where necessary. The effective monitoring of the functioning of the Academy has been strengthened by the presence of an ONUSAL observer in the Academic Council. ONUSAL also provides support to the Academy to strengthen its training courses on human rights.

The Police Division assumed additional functions as territorial deployment of the National Civil Police began in March 1993. In response to a request submitted by the Government and in close coordination with the international technical team that provides advice to the Director-General of PNC, the Division carried out, between 1 April and 30 September 1993, an evaluation of the performance of the new police force in the field and provided it with technical advice and logistical support. A renewal of this support is envisaged.

The Division assists in efforts to locate illegal arms caches and supports the Human Rights Division. Police observers conduct special inquiries when required and ensure that appropriate security measures are provided for FMLN leaders, as established by the Accords. Support was also provided to the Electoral Division (see *below*).

ADJUSTMENTS TO THE TIMETABLE

Under the timetable for the implementation of the Peace Agreements, the process of ending the armed conflict was to have been completed by 31 October 1992. By that time, the Government of El Salvador was to have completed several major commitments of a political and institutional nature and FMLN was to have demobilized all its combatants, destroyed their armament and reintegrated them into civilian life under programmes provided by the Government.

However, the tightness of the timetable, together with the complexity of the issues involved, led to major delays in completing certain commitments crucial for the overall implementation of the peace process. Consequently, adjustments had to be made, on 17 June and again on 19 August 1992, to those parts of the timetable that had been affected. In both these adjustments, the fulfilment of certain key commitments had to be postponed beyond 31 October 1992. Among them were the provision of agricultural land in the former zones of conflict, which was originally to have been completed by the end of July 1992, and the establishment of the National Public Security Academy, which was due on 1 May 1992.

On 30 September 1992, FMLN informed the United Nations that, in order to maintain the link in the original timetable between the key undertakings of the two parties, it would suspend demobilization of its forces until new dates had been set for the start of the transfer of land and other aspects of the Agreement that had fallen behind schedule. On 13 October, the Secretary-General presented a proposal regarding the solution of the land issue, which was accepted by FMLN and the Government on 15 and 16 October, respectively.

While an agreement on the land issue was reached, it became evident that the complete dismantling of the FMLN military structure by 31 October 1992 would be difficult to achieve. On 23 October, the Secretary-General proposed to the parties a new target date of 15 December 1992. FMLN accepted the proposal contingent upon its acceptance by the Government. The Government, however, reserved its position on some aspects of the proposal and suspended the restructuring, reduction and demobilization of its Armed Forces.

In these circumstances, the Secretary-General sent Mr. Marrack Goulding, then Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, and Mr. Alvaro de Soto, Senior Political Adviser to the Secretary-General, to San Salvador in late October 1992 to assist in overcoming difficulties. He was informed subsequently that these consultations with the parties led to arrangements for the formal ending of the armed conflict on 15 December. The arrangements also included agreement by President Alfredo Cristiani of El Salvador to complete implementation of the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission on Purification of the Armed Forces. The Commission, the establishment of which was provided for by the Peace Agreements, was set up on 19 May 1992, and submitted its report to President Cristiani and to the Secretary-General on 22 September. However, difficulties emerged, *inter alia*, regarding the timetable for the implementation of those recommendations.

ONUSAL has closely followed all issues related to the creation of the new National Civil Police, the political participation of FMLN, the restoration of public administration in former zones of conflict, and reforms of the judicial and electoral systems. In addition, the Mission participated as an observer in the National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace (COPAZ), mandated to oversee the implementation of all political agreements reached by the parties.

END OF THE ARMED CONFLICT

On 23 December 1992, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that the armed conflict between the Government of El Salvador and FMLN had been brought formally to an end on 15 December in accordance with the agreed adjustments in the timetable for implementing the Peace Agreements. This event, which had been preceded the previous evening by the legalization of FMLN as a political party, was marked by a ceremony presided over by President Cristiani and attended by the Secretary-General and a number of international statesmen.

The Secretary-General described the event as "a defining moment in the history of El Salvador, whose long-suffering people can now look forward to a future in which political, economic and social arguments will be settled through the processes of democracy and not by war." At the same time, he stressed that it did not mark the end of the peace process in El Salvador. It was important, he stated, that both parties, and the international community, should persevere in their efforts to ensure implementation of the remaining provisions of the Peace Agreements.

SECOND ENLARGEMENT OF MANDATE

ONUSAL's mandate was enlarged a second time after the Government of El Salvador, on 8 January 1993, formally requested United Nations observation of the elections for the presidency, the Legislative Assembly, mayors and municipal councils, due in March 1994. The Secretary-General informed the Security Council of the request and stated that, given the importance of these elections, it was his intention to recommend that the Council accept it.

A technical mission visited El Salvador from 18 to 28 April 1993 to define the terms of reference, concept of operations and financial implications of expanding the ONUSAL mandate. The Secretary-General summarized the main findings of the mission in his 21 May 1993 report to the Security Council and stated that the elections were likely to be the culminating point of the entire peace process. The Salvadorian Supreme Electoral Tribunal would receive full cooperation from ONUSAL should the Security Council approve his recommendation that the Mission be authorized to observe the electoral process.

The Security Council approved the Secretary-General's report by its resolution 832 (1993) of 27 May 1993 and decided to enlarge ONUSAL's mandate to include observation of the electoral process. It also requested the Secretary-General to take the necessary measures to this effect. By the same resolution, the Council welcomed the continuing adaptation by the Secretary-General of the activities and strength of ONUSAL, taking into account progress made in implementing the peace process.

According to the Secretary-General, the Electoral Division was to be established in five stages. The preparatory stage, from 1 to 30 June 1993, was devoted to organization at the central and regional levels; during the period July to December, the main tasks would be to verify citizens' registration and to follow political activities; from December 1993 to March 1994, efforts were to be concentrated on observation of the electoral campaign; the Division would then observe the elections, set for 20 March 1994, the counting of votes and the announcements of results. Should the first round yield a definitive result, the activities of the Division would conclude on 31 March 1994. Should a second round of elections for the presidency be necessary, observation would continue from 1 to 30 April 1994.

COMMISSION ON THE TRUTH

In his report of 21 May 1993, the Secretary-General stated that the first phase of the timetable for implementation had successfully been brought to a close. The priority assigned to military aspects in the preceding period had shifted to other provisions of the agreements. Implementation of several key commitments had continued to progress. However, the deployment of the National Civil Police was behind schedule and difficulties continued to plague the transfer of land and other programmes essential to the reintegration of former combatants on both sides. The Military Division continued its verification of the destruction of FMLN weapons and the reduction of the Armed Forces of El Salvador. In the area of human rights, the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights had opened regional offices.

The Secretary-General also reported that he had received the report of the Commission on the Truth on 15 March 1993. The Commission — established in accordance with the Mexico Agreements of 27 April 1991 to investigate serious acts of violence that had occurred since 1980 and whose impact on society was deemed to require an urgent public knowledge of the truth — was composed of three international personalities appointed by the Secretary-General after consultation with the parties: Belisario Betancur, former President of Colombia; Reinaldo Figueredo Planchart, former Foreign Minister of Venezuela; and Thomas Buergenthal, former President of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and of the Inter-American Institute for Human Rights. The Commission was to transmit a final report with its conclusions and recommendations to the parties and to the Secretary-General, who would make it public and would take the decisions and initiatives that he deemed appropriate. The parties undertook to carry out the Commission's recommendations.

The Commission received over 22,000 complaints of "serious acts of violence" which had occurred between January 1980 and July 1991. These were classified as violence by agents of the State; massacres of peasants by the Armed Forces; assassinations by death squads; violence by FMLN; and assassinations of judges. The Commission listed its recommendations under four headings: recommendations arising directly from the results of the Commission's own investigations; eradication of structural causes directly connected with the incidents investigated; institutional reforms to prevent the repetition of such events; and measures for national reconciliation.

According to the Secretary-General, the question of implementing these recommendations had given rise to controversy and remained outstanding. He instructed that a detailed analysis be made of the Commission's recommendations, examining whether any of them was outside the Commission's mandate or incompatible with the Constitution and identifying what action was required by whom and in what time-frame. The Secretary-General conveyed that analysis to the Government, FMLN and COPAZ on 20 May 1993, and requested each of them to inform him by 20 June 1993 of the action it had taken or planned to take to implement the recommendations for which it was designated as an addressee and to promote the implementation of the other recommendations. The Secretary-General later reported, on 14 October 1993, that the Commission's recommendations had been the subject of active exchanges of views and communications between the Secretariat and the Government, FMLN and COPAZ. Although some action had been taken on a large number of recommendations made by the Commission on the Truth, no implementation had been reported with regard to others. At a high-level meeting on 8 September 1993, in which ONUSAL participated, the Government and FMLN agreed on the need to step up the implementation process with a view to "sweeping the table clear" before the electoral campaign began.

DISCOVERY OF FMLN ARMS CACHES

The discovery in Nicaragua on 23 May 1993 of an illegal arms cache belonging to FMLN and the latter's subsequent admission that it had maintained large quantities of weapons both within and outside El Salvador marked a serious violation of the Peace Accords. The Secretary-General reported to the Council on 29 June that he had made continuous efforts directly and through ONUSAL to establish the facts, to ensure that all remaining clandestine caches were declared to it and their contents destroyed and to limit the repercussions on the peace process. He also reported that the right of FMLN to maintain its status as a political party in these circumstances had been questioned in some quarters.

On 12 July, the Security Council took note of the Secretary-General's report and noted FMLN's promise to disclose all its holdings of arms and munitions and subsequently to destroy them by 4 August 1993. The members of the Council stressed that the complete disarmament of FMLN, and the reintegration of its members into the civil, political and institutional life of the country, formed an essential part of the peace process. They shared the Secretary-General's assessment that it was an indication of the strength and irreversibility of the peace process that a serious incident of this nature had not been allowed to derail the implementation of the Peace Agreements. They agreed with his view that the cancellation or suspension of FMLN's status as a political party could deal a severe blow to the peace process.

On 13 July, the Council welcomed confirmation by the Secretary-General on 7 July that the Government had complied with the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission on the Purification of the Armed Forces.

COMPLETION OF A PROCESS

The Secretary-General submitted a further report to the Security Council on 30 August 1993, stating that the overall process of verification and destruction of FMLN weapons and equipment mandated by the Peace Agreements had been completed on 18 August 1993. The process had included two distinct phases. The first covered the period until the accidental explosion of the illegal arms cache in Managua, Nicaragua, on 23 May 1993. The second phase covered ONUSAL's operations with respect to arms discovered in the immediate aftermath of the Managua incident and those declared by FMLN in compliance with its renewed commitment to disclose all its remaining weapons. The Secretary-General also confirmed to the Council that the military structure of FMLN had been effectively dismantled and that its former combatants had been demobilized and reintegrated into the civil, institutional and political life of the country.

Following the report to the Council that the residual arms deposits declared by FMLN had been verified and destroyed by ONUSAL, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, in accordance with its request, had been duly informed. This had enabled FMLN to continue as a legally recognized political party. On 5 September 1993, FMLN held its national convention at which it decided to participate in the elections and chose its candidates.

ONUSAL ELECTORAL DIVISION

The Electoral Division of ONUSAL was established in September 1993 with a mandate to observe the electoral process before, during and after the elections under the following terms of reference: (a) to observe that measures and decisions made by all electoral authorities were impartial and consistent with the holding of free and fair elections; (b) to observe that appropriate steps were taken to ensure that eligible voters were included in the electoral rolls, thus enabling them to exercise their right to vote; (c) to observe that mechanisms were in place effectively to prevent multiple voting, given that a complete screening of the electoral rolls prior to the elections was not feasible; (d) to observe that freedom of expression, organization, movement and assembly were respected without restrictions; (e) to observe that potential voters had sufficient knowledge of the mechanisms for participating in the election; (f) to examine, analyse and assess criticisms made, objections raised and attempts undertaken to delegitimize the electoral process and, if required, to convey such information to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal; (g) to inform the Supreme Electoral Tribunal of complaints received regarding irregularities in electoral advertising or possible interference with the electoral process; when appropriate, to request information on corrective measures taken by the Tribunal; (h) to place observers at all polling sites on election day to verify that the right to vote was fully respected.

The Division functioned with 36 Professional staff deployed throughout the Mission's 6 regional offices. Despite the rather small number of staff, the component performed its observation duties on the basis of coordination with and close collaboration of the other components of ONUSAL.

Reporting to the Council on 20 October 1993, the Secretary-General stated that in the initial phase, the Division's chief task had been to verify the registration of citizens on the electoral rolls and to observe the political activities of the period preceding the electoral campaign.

The Secretary-General then explained that the institutional framework of the electoral process had been established. On 20 March 1994, four elections would be held simultaneously, namely, elections for the President, with a second round within the ensuing 30 days if no candidate had obtained an absolute majority; parliamentary elections for the 84 seats in the National Assembly on the basis of proportional representation; municipal elections in 262 mayoral districts on the basis of a simple majority; and for the Central American Parliament, treated as a single national district, for which 20 deputies would be elected on the basis of proportional representation. The Supreme Electoral Tribunal had already set up offices in all departments and municipalities of the country. The electoral law called for a Board of Vigilance consisting of representatives of all the political parties with authority to supervise the work of all Supreme Electoral Tribunal offices. Twelve political parties would take part in the elections.

SECRETARY-GENERAL REPORTS TO COUNCIL

On 23 November 1993, the Secretary-General reported to the Council that, while on the whole the implementation of the Peace Accords had progressed well, it was a matter of serious concern that the electoral campaign should have begun when important elements in the Accords remained only partially implemented and when there were signs of the reappearance of some disturbing features of El Salvador's past.

Several key aspects of the Peace Accords continued to suffer serious delays, including the programme for the transfer of lands and the reintegration programmes for ex-combatants and war disabled. One year after the agreement on the land programme, and in spite of commitments by the two parties to accelerate the process, land titles had been issued to less than 10 per cent of the potential beneficiaries. The main problem still related to determining who should be entitled to land. The difficulties encountered and the slow rate of progress were also discouraging potential donors from making new commitments to the programme. The Secretary-General appealed to the two parties to exercise flexibility in the belief that the remaining technical, financial and legal difficulties could be solved if the political will to do so existed.

Serious difficulties affected the operation of the National Public Security Academy and the deployment of the National Civil Police (PNC). There were also problems over the lack of a plan for the phasing out the National Police and the establishment of functional divisions of PNC. While the Secretary-General acknowledged the complexity of establishing a completely new police force and transferring responsibility for public order to it in the aftermath of a long civil war, ONUSAL's reports created the impression that at some levels in the Government there might be a lack of commitment to the objectives enshrined in the Peace Accords. This was reflected in the denial to the PNC of the necessary logistical and technical resources, the introduction into that force of military personnel, the prolongation of the existence of the National Police and the denial to ONUSAL of the information it required for verification purposes. Concerns also persisted that the military intelligence establishment might still be involving itself with internal security matters.

As for the collection of weapons issued for the exclusive use of the personnel of the Armed Forces of El Salvador, implementation of that provision of the Peace Agreement was incomplete.

HUMAN RIGHTS

With regard to human rights, the Secretary-General reported that important legal reforms were in progress, although many of them were only in the proposal stage and deficiencies in judicial practice persisted. The ONUSAL Human Rights Division had continued its active verification and its programmes in support of the institutions responsible for the administration of justice and protection of human rights. Of special relevance were activities being carried out with the Supreme Court of Justice for the training of judges and magistrates and support to the Armed Forces of El Salvador in the development of a new democratic doctrine and the revision of curricula in the military academies relating to human rights and constitutional law. The Division was cooperating with the Office of the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights, with which it signed an agreement aimed at the transfer to the Council's Office of experience and investigative technology upon ONUSAL's withdrawal from El Salvador. A permanent consultative mechanism existed at the highest level between the Division and the Counsel's office with a view to conducting joint verification activities in the near future.

The human rights situation had shown in some areas signs of improvement and in others an increase in serious violations. Problems relating to the right to life, individual liberty, personal integrity and due process had intensified. A number of murders and assaults in preceding weeks had raised fears about the possible resurgence of illegal armed groups with political objectives, including the "death squads". The emergence of criminal organizations of this type seriously affected the stability of the peace process by eroding confidence and security. The Human Rights Division of ONUSAL had alerted the Government to this danger and stressed the usefulness of establishing an autonomous mechanism for the investigation of these incidents. The subsequent killings of two senior FMLN leaders, a member of the governing party (ARENA) and two former municipal officers belonging to that party brought this issue into sharper focus.

In view of these killings and the ONUSAL position, the Government had created an Interinstitutional Commission to investigate this type of crime. With the agreement of FMLN, foreign experts were invited to participate in the work of a subgroup of the Commission to investigate the cases of the two senior FMLN leaders. Although this subgroup did not meet United Nations criteria for the investigation of summary executions, ONUSAL closely followed its work.

The Secretary-General recalled that his concerns had been the subject of an exchange of letters with the President of the Council on 3 and 5 November, respectively. It was particularly important that, as endorsed by the Council in its statement of 5 November, arrangements should be agreed for the Human Rights Division to work with the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights to help the Government carry out the recommendation of the Commission on the Truth that a thorough investigation of illegal armed groups be undertaken immediately.

With regard to the implementation of other recommendations of the Commission on the Truth and, at the same time, of those of the ONUSAL Human Rights Division, which had been fully endorsed by the Commission, a positive step had been taken when the Ministry of Justice had submitted to the Legislative Assembly a number of draft laws aimed at perfecting the guarantees for due process. Also included was the proposed repeal of a law which violated some of the fundamental rights enshrined in international instruments.

OTHER MATTERS

The Secretary-General had asked his Special Representative to obtain the agreement of the Government and FMLN to a new timetable that would set the firmest possible dates for completing the implementation of the most important outstanding points. It was also important that, following the elections, the new Government should maintain its predecessor's commitment to implement the Accords in their entirety. In this regard, responding to an initiative by the Special Representative, six of the seven presidential candidates signed a statement in which they solemnly committed themselves to maintain the constructive evolution of the peace process and to implement all the commitments contained in the Peace Accords. The seventh candidate later explained that, although he agreed with its objectives, he had not signed the statement because he believed that it should contain more detailed commitments to specific measures.

The Secretary-General concluded his report with the recommendation to the Council that ONUSAL continue its activities for a further mandate period through 31 May 1994. After that time, it would probably be necessary to keep the Mission in existence at a reduced strength for a few months to verify the implementation of major points in the Peace Accords.

On 30 November, the Council, having studied the report, extended the mandate of ONUSAL through 31 May 1994. It condemned recent acts of violence and urged the Government and FMLN to make determined efforts to prevent political violence and accelerate compliance with their commitments under the Peace Accords. It also requested the Secretary-General to report by 1 May so that it might review ONUSAL's size and scope for the period after 31 May.[1]

INVESTIGATION OF ILLEGAL GROUPS

In a letter to the President of the Council on 11 December 1993, the Secretary-General recalled the Council's approval on 5 November of his ideas on how the United Nations should help in an investigation of illegal groups. From 8 to 15 November, the Secretary-General had dispatched a mission to El Salvador led by Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Marrack Goulding. Extensive consultations had resulted in the establishment on 8 December of a Joint Group for the investigation of politically motivated illegal armed groups. The members of the Joint Group were two independent representatives of the Government of El Salvador nominated by the President, the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights and the Director of the ONUSAL Human Rights Division. The Council informed the Secretary-General that it supported the "Principles" as well as the Secretary-General's role in ensuring the effectiveness and credibility of the investigation.

RUN-UP TO THE ELECTIONS

Beginning in October 1993 (*see above*), the Secretary-General submitted regular reports to the Council on the activities of the ONUSAL Electoral Division and the unfolding of the electoral process.

In his report of 16 February 1994, the Secretary-General noted that during the period from November 1993 to January 1994 the Electoral Division had focused on observing voter registration, monitoring the election campaign and providing assistance in the drawing up of an electoral roll. The electoral campaign had opened officially on 20 November 1993 for the election of the President and on 20 January 1994 for the election of the Legislative Assembly. The electoral campaign for the municipal elections was to begin officially on 20 February 1994.

The Electoral Division had held joint meetings on a regular basis with the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, the Board of Vigilance, made up of representatives of all political parties, and the party campaign managers with a view to solving any possible problem arising during the electoral process. In addition, a system had been set up to receive and process allegations of violations of the Electoral Code. These allegations were then transmitted in writing to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, which was asked to report on the follow-up action taken.

In his report of 16 March 1994, the Secretary-General noted that, during the campaign period, ONUSAL teams had made an average of 9 observation visits to each of the country's 262 towns, or more than 2,350 visits, and dispatched a total of 3,700 patrols.

ONUSAL promoted discussions with a view to obtaining the signing of codes of conduct by political parties. Pacts of this kind were signed by all contending parties in each of the 14 departments of El Salvador as well as in a number of municipalities. On 10 March, at ONUSAL headquarters, all presidential candidates signed a declaration in which they declared their rejection of violence and their commitment to respect the results of the elections and to comply with the Peace Accords. Periodic meetings with political parties were held at the central and local levels in order to discuss ongoing problems and viable solutions. At these meetings, technical proposals to improve the registration process were discussed and evaluated.

ONUSAL teams attended more than 800 events, mainly political meetings and demonstrations, and monitored political advertising through the mass media. Complaints of irregularities in electoral publicity and other aspects of the electoral process were transmitted in a timely manner by ONUSAL to the Supreme Electoral

Tribunal in accordance with the terms of reference of the Electoral Division.

Communication with the Tribunal included not only complaints presented to ONUSAL by claimants from different sources, mostly political parties, but also reports on problems identified in the field by ONUSAL observers. In some cases, they were solved by action from the Tribunal. In this connection, ONUSAL made recommendations to the Tribunal as appropriate. Some 300 complaints were presented to ONUSAL during the campaign period dealing with arbitrary or illegitimate action by public authorities (23 per cent), acts of intimidation (21 per cent), destruction of propaganda materials (18 per cent), aggression (9 per cent), murder (7 per cent) and miscellaneous complaints (22 per cent).

ELECTION DAY

Election day was 20 March 1994. On 21 March, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General stated that, in the light of the information gathered by the observers on election day, and in view of the systematic observation of the electoral process over the preceding six months, ONUSAL believed that in general the elections had taken place under appropriate conditions in terms of freedom, competitiveness and security. Despite serious flaws regarding organization and transparency, the elections could be considered acceptable.

The Secretary-General provided a general assessment of election day in his report to the Security Council of 31 March 1994. An estimated 1.5 million voters had participated in the election. This number was lower than many had hoped for, attributable, at least in part, to some structural problems of the system, including the complexities of Salvadorian registration and the limited number of polling centres. While official results had not yet been announced, the provisional count indicated that no candidate had obtained the required absolute majority in the presidential race. A second round would therefore be necessary, probably on 24 April. It would be some time before the results of the elections for the Legislative Assembly and the municipalities were known, although available data seemed to indicate that one political party, ARENA, would have a relative majority in the Assembly and that it had won most of the mayoral districts.

ONUSAL had monitored proceedings from the time the polling stations were set up until the completion of the count by deploying nearly 900 observers of 56 nationalities who covered all polling centres with teams of between 2 and 30 observers. This massive presence of ONUSAL made it possible throughout election day to resolve countless practical problems of organization of the voting. The observers collected information on the events of election day on more than 7,000 forms (one for each of the 6,984 polling stations and the 355 polling centres) which were subsequently compiled by the Electoral Division and which constituted the basic documentary source for evaluating the conduct of the elections.

ONUSAL's quick count, based on a random sample of 291 polling stations, had made it possible to have a reliable projection of the outcome of the presidential election two hours after the polls closed. The information was transmitted by the ONUSAL Chief of Mission to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal. The difference between the quick count and the provisional results provided by the Tribunal was 0.5 per cent. ONUSAL assigned a team of 40 specialized observers to monitor the official count of the votes in the Supreme Electoral Tribunal.

The Secretary-General stated that the general conduct of the electoral process and the campaign had had many positive aspects: massive expansion of the electoral rolls; participation by the political parties throughout the process and at all levels of the electoral authorities; peaceful exercise of the right to organize, of the right to freedom of expression and of the right of assembly; publicity by the parties in all the media; conduct of campaign activities without violent incidents; and proper functioning on the part of the security forces and armed forces.

He also pointed out that no party had rejected the results of the presidential election, and ONUSAL observers had not recorded any fraudulent acts that could have had a significant impact on the outcome. In general, the Assembly and municipal elections had been conducted under the same conditions as the presidential election. However, the smaller size of constituencies at this electoral level, which meant that problems affecting a small number of votes could have a significant impact on the outcome, had given rise to a number of challenges. Such challenges were being dealt with in the manner laid down by the legislation, and ONUSAL would continue to observe how cases evolved until definitive solutions were found.

CONTINUING CONCERNS

Meanwhile, on 28 March 1994, the Secretary-General addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council in which he raised continuing concerns regarding the implementation of certain aspects of the original Peace Accords. It was essential to have an updated agreement between the parties on a timetable for the implementation of pending matters so that the process should suffer no further delays during the transition to the new Government.

According to the Secretary-General, little progress had been achieved in certain aspects related to public security. The PNC was still being denied resources, there was no clear accounting of the transfer to the PNC of military personnel, and there seemed to be a desire to de-link the deployment of the PNC from the phasing out of the National Police. ONUSAL was being hindered from properly carrying out its verification responsibilities in this regard.

Notwithstanding progress in the reintegration of FMLN into the political life of El Salvador, much remained to be done in other critical areas of reintegration, the main one being the transfer of land, through which most former combatants and supporters of FMLN were to be reintegrated. Those transfers had been delayed and were short of the agreed goal. Other reintegration programmes were also moving extremely slowly. Another matter related to recommendations of the Commission on the Truth requiring constitutional amendments, particularly with regard to the decentralization of the powers and competence of the Supreme Court. The Secretary-General stated that urgent action to implement those amendments was needed.

On 7 April, the Council noted that it had received the Secretary-General's report of 31 March as well as his letter of 28 March. The Council congratulated the people of El Salvador on the peaceful and historic elections and called upon those concerned to take the necessary measures, as recommended by the Secretary-General, to correct shortcomings which had appeared in the first round. It also called for the full implementation of the Peace Accords and shared the concerns expressed by the Secretary-General in his letter.

OFFICIAL RESULTS OF THE FIRST ROUND

The official results of the voting in the presidential election in El Salvador were as follows: ARENA, 49.03 per cent; Coalition Convergencia Democratica (CD) - FMLN - Movimiento Nacional Revolucionaria (MNR), 24.9 per cent; Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC), 17.87 per cent; Partido Conciliación Nacional (PCN), 5.39 per cent; Partido Movimiento de Unidad (PMU), 2.41 per cent; Movimiento de Solidaridad Nacional (MSN), 1.06 per cent; and Movimiento Auténtico Cristiano (MAC), 0.83 per cent. As a result of the election for the Legislative Assembly, the 84 seats have been allocated as follows: ARENA, 39; FMLN, 21; PDC, 18; PCN, 4; CD, 1; PMU, 1. Finally, the 262 mayoralties have been distributed as follows: ARENA, 206; PDC, 29; FMLN, 16; PCN, 10; MAC, 1.

SECOND ROUND OF VOTING

Since no candidate in the presidential election obtained the required absolute majority, a second round of voting was held on 24 April 1994 between the two candidates with the highest number of votes, namely, Armando Calderón Sol of ARENA and Rubén Zamora of the CD-FMLN-MNR coalition. ONUSAL deployed 900 observers in all the voting centres in the country, from the opening of the polling stations until completion of the first count of the votes from the ballot boxes.

On 25 April, ONUSAL issued a statement in which it reported that in general, the election had proceeded without serious incidents affecting public order or ballot-tampering. There were also signs of a clear improvement in the conditions in which the election was held, such as the management of the voting centres, the deployment of guides to direct voters to their voting places, identification on the electoral register, free public transport and early information on the night of 24 April concerning the election results. All those factors, the statement went on, made it possible to have a better-organized election day thanks to the joint efforts of the two presidential candidates, the political institutions which nominated them, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal and the donor countries.

At the same time, ONUSAL registered a number of irregularities. Some polling stations were not opened or closed on time and both parties complained of illegal campaigning inside the voting centres. It was also reported that a considerable number of citizens had been unable to cast their ballots despite having voting cards.

Although as of 30 April 1994 the official results of the second round were not yet announced, the preliminary vote count on 24 April showed Mr. Calderón Sol as apparent President-elect, and his opponent, Mr. Rubén Zamora, acknowledged the victory of his adversary. In his public statement on the night of 24 April, the President-elect reaffirmed his commitment to the process of peace and reconciliation in El Salvador.

COMPOSITION

At its peak strength in February 1992, ONUSAL's Military Division, headed by Brigadier-General Victor Suanzes Pardo, comprised 368 military observers. By the end of January 1993, as the peace process progressed, it was reduced to a strength of 95 and was further reduced after 31 May 1993. As of 30 April 1994, the Division comprised 25 military observers, headed by Colonel Luis Alejandre Siutes.

The strength of the Police Division, headed by General Homero Vaz Bresque, was reduced on 1 October 1993 to 279, and at 30 April 1994 stood at 272.

ONUSAL military observers have been provided by Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Ecuador, India, Ireland, Spain, Sweden and Venezuela. In addition, medical officers have been contributed by Argentina and Spain. Police observers have come from Austria, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, France, Guyana, Italy, Mexico, Spain and Sweden. As at 30 April 1994, ONUSAL military and police observers were being provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Argentina		4	
Austria	3		
Brazil	14		4
Canada			2
Chile	28		
Colombia	34		2
France	22		
Guyana	8		
Ireland			2
Italy	10		
Mexico	49		
Spain	102		11
Sweden	2		1
Venezuela			3
TOTAL	272	4	25

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

The Electoral Division, under the direction of Mr. Rafael López Pintor, had a normal strength of 36 observers, which increased to 900 during the elections of 20 March and 24 April 1994.

The Human Rights Division, initially headed by Mr. Philippe Texier, who was succeeded in late 1992 by Mr. Diego Garcia-Sayán, is currently staffed by 30 international civil servants, many of whom were recruited from human rights organizations for the ONUSAL mission.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The rough annual cost of ONUSAL to the United Nations is $24 million. This cost is met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the ONUSAL special account amounted to approximately $34 million.

NOTES

1/ In his report (S/1994/561), submitted on 11 May 1994, with the consent of the Council, the Secretary-General described the activities of ONUSAL for the period from 21 November 1993 to 30 April 1994.

According to the agreed timetable, almost all aspects of the Peace Accords were to have been implemented before the new Government assumed office on 1 June 1994. The main exceptions were the deployment of the National Civil Police and demobilization of the National Police, which were to be completed on 28 July and 31 October 1994 respectively. As for the land transfer programme, the Secretary-General reported that it had become clear that it would have to be extended into 1995.

It had therefore been expected that at least a vestigial presence of ONUSAL would be required after 1 June 1994. However, serious shortcomings in the implementation of the Accords meant that on 1 June 1994 much would remain to be done, in spite of all the efforts to make up for lost time. The Secretary-General, believing that the United Nations had a continuing responsibility to honour its undertaking to verify compliance with the Peace Accords, held the view that the mandate of ONUSAL should be extended for a further six months, that is, until 30 November 1994. During this time, the Secretary-General would continue to reduce the size of ONUSAL as rapidly as implementation of the outstanding agreements permitted. He appealed to the Government of El Salvador, both the outgoing and incoming administrations, and to all others concerned, to make the effort necessary to ensure that their remaining commitments were implemented with the least possible delay.

On 24 May, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that the two Salvadorian parties had reached agreement on a new "Timetable for the implementation of the most important outstanding agreements". He also informed the Council that the President-elect of El Salvador, Mr. Calderón Sol, had reiterated to the Secretary-General his personal commitment to the terms of the Peace Accords and his desire to see those Accords implemented without delay.

By its resolution 920 (1994) of 26 May 1994, the Security Council welcomed the latest reports of the Secretary-General and decided to extend the mandate of ONUSAL until 30 November 1994 in the terms recommended by the Secretary-General in his report of 11 May. It also, among other things, urged the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN strictly to comply with the timetable agreement, and requested the Secretary-General to keep the Security Council informed on progress made on the implementation of that agreement.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

MINURSO

UNITED NATIONS MISSION FOR THE REFERENDUM IN WESTERN SAHARA

LOCATION: Western Sahara

HEADQUARTERS: Laayoune

DURATION: September 1991 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: Approximately 1,700 military observers and troops, 300 police officers and about 800 to 1,000 civilian personnel

CURRENT STRENGTH: 224 military observers, 97 military support personnel, 26 police officers and 179 international and local civilian staff members

FATALITIES: 3 (as of 24 May 1994)

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan (Pakistan)

FORCE COMMANDER: Brigadier-General André Van Baelen (Belgium)

BACKGROUND

In 1985, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in cooperation with the Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, initiated a joint mission of good offices in the search for a solution of the question of Western Sahara. On 11 August 1988, the Secretary-General and the Special Envoy of the Chairman presented, in separate meetings, to the parties to the conflict in Western Sahara, namely Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO), a document referred to as "the settlement proposals".

The document contained proposals for a just and definitive solution of the question of Western Sahara in conformity with 1960 General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV). This would be accomplished by means of a cease-fire and the holding of a referendum without military or administrative constraints, to enable the people of Western Sahara, in the exercise of their right to self-determination, to choose between independence and integration with Morocco.

On 27 June 1990, the Security Council, in its resolution 658 (1990), approved a report of the Secretary-General, which contained the full text of the settlement proposals as accepted by the two parties on 30 August 1988, as well as an outline of the Secretary-General's plan for implementing those proposals.

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

The implementation plan provided for a transitional period during which the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, acting under the authority of the Secretary-General, would have sole and exclusive responsibility over all matters relating to the referendum, including its organization and conduct. The Special Representative would be assisted in his tasks by a deputy special representative and by an integrated group of United Nations civilian, military and civilian police personnel. This group would be known as the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO).

According to the plan, the transitional period would begin with the coming into effect of a cease-fire and end with the proclamation of the results of the referendum. Following the announcement of a cease-fire, MINURSO would verify the reduction of Moroccan troops in the Territory; monitor the confinement of Moroccan and the Frente POLISARIO troops to designated locations; take steps with the parties to ensure the release of all Western Saharan political prisoners or detainees; oversee the exchange of prisoners of war (International Committee of the Red Cross); implement the repatriation programme (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees); identify and register qualified voters; organize and ensure a free referendum; and proclaim the results.

The plan stipulated that MINURSO would consist of the Special Representative and his office, and civilian, military and security units. The civilian component would range in size from about 800 to 1,000 personnel, depending on the requirements of the various phases of the transitional period. At full strength, the military component would consist of approximately 1,700 personnel, and the Security Unit of about 300 police officers.

ESTABLISHMENT OF MINURSO

On 29 April 1991, the Security Council, in its resolution 690 (1991), decided to establish MINURSO, in accordance with a report of the Secretary-General which further detailed the implementation plan. In approving the plan, the Security Council also accepted the timetable proposed in the Secretary-General's report. It was envisaged that the transitional period would begin no later than 16 weeks after the General Assembly approved the MINURSO budget and would last for 20 weeks. MINURSO would remain in the Territory for up to 26 weeks from the coming into effect of the cease-fire. The Secretary-General indicated, however, that the periods of time allowed for the various processes were estimates that could require adjustment.

The budget for MINURSO was approved by the General Assembly on 17 May 1991.

CEASE-FIRE

On 24 May 1991, in accordance with the plan, the Secretary-General proposed that the cease-fire should enter into effect on 6 September. Both parties accepted that date. During the following three months, however, it became clear that it would not be possible to complete before 6 September a number of tasks that were to be completed before the cease-fire. It also became clear that, notwithstanding the parties' earlier acceptance of the settlement plan, substantial areas of difference between them remained. One party therefore was not able to agree that the transition period should begin on 6 September 1991.

Meanwhile, hostilities had broken out in the Territory, interrupting an informal cease-fire that had been in effect for over two years. In these circumstances, the Secretary-General decided that the formal cease-fire should come into effect on 6 September as initially agreed, on the understanding that the transition period would begin as soon as the outstanding tasks had been completed. The Security Council supported his proposal that, during this delay, 100 military observers should be deployed in the Territory to verify the cease-fire and the cessation of hostilities in certain areas. The number of military observers was subsequently increased to 228 and certain logistics and administrative support staff were also sent to the field.

The primary function of MINURSO was restricted to verifying the cease-fire and cessation of hostilities. This was done by direct observation of military forces and activities carried out by either party and verifying complaints of alleged cease-fire violations. United Nations military observers were deployed to ten team sites/observation posts in the northern and southern sectors of the Territory. The team sites, covering the main points of concern in the Territory, were the key element in monitoring the cease-fire. United Nations military observers operated in mobile patrols. Helicopter-borne patrols were also conducted to enhance MINURSO monitoring capability and react at short notice to complaints and violations.

The headquarters of the Mission has been established in the capital, Laayoune, with two regional headquarters in the northern and southern sectors of the Territory. A liaison office has also been established in Tindouf to maintain contact with the Algerian authorities and the Frente POLISARIO.

DIFFERENCES REMAIN

According to the settlement plan, the referendum in Western Sahara should have taken place in January 1992. However, it has not been possible to proceed in conformity with the original timetable. While both parties — the Government of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO — have reiterated their confidence in the United Nations, their commitment to the settlement plan and their willingness to restore the momentum of the peace process, they continue to have divergent views and different interpretations of some of the key elements contained in the plan, including those with regard to the question of criteria for eligibility to vote in the referendum.

Criteria for voter eligibility were enunciated by former Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar on 19 December 1991. While considering them to be unduly restrictive, Morocco nevertheless accepted them. For its part, the Frente POLISARIO maintained that, in the initial agreement, the two parties had agreed that the list of Saharans counted in the census conducted by the Spanish administration in the Territory in 1974 would be exclusive basis of the electorate. In its view, the criteria of 19 December 1991 would unduly expand the electorate beyond the 1974 census list and were incompatible therefore with the relevant provisions of the settlement plan.

In the hope to break this deadlock, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Western Sahara, Mr. Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan, held, in August and September 1992, a series of separate talks with the two parties on the interpretation and application of the criteria. The purpose of such talks was to find ways of ensuring that both parties arrived at the same interpretation of the criteria.

In spite of intensive efforts by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his Special Representative to find mutually acceptable solutions, it has not so far been possible to put the implementation plan back on track. Moreover, an attempt to organize a meeting of 38 Western Saharan tribal chiefs in Geneva, at the end of November 1992, had to be cancelled because of the differences relating to the powers of some participants designated by the Moroccan party.

In his 26 January 1993 report to the Security Council on the situation in Western Sahara, the Secretary-General stated that the cancellation of the meeting in Geneva demonstrated the futility of the efforts undertaken "with vigour and resource" by his Special Representative over the preceding eight months to seek a way out of the existing deadlock. He suggested three possible options available under the circumstances.

A first option suggested the continuation and, if possible, intensification of talks. The Secretary-General believed, however, that the chances for success under this option were very slim.

A second option required the immediate implementation of the settlement plan on the basis of the instructions for the review of applications for participation in the referendum, appearing in the annex to the 19 December 1991 report of the Secretary-General to the Security Council. This could mean, the Secretary-General pointed out, that the implementation would have to proceed without the cooperation of one of the parties.

A third option was to adopt an alternative approach not based on the settlement plan. Requesting guidance from the Security Council on how best to proceed, the Secretary-General stated that, depending on the Council's decision, the role and strength of MINURSO might have to be adjusted.

On 2 March, the Security Council, by its resolution 809 (1993), invited the Secretary-General to intensify efforts in order to resolve outstanding issues, and to make the necessary preparations for the referendum and to consult accordingly with the parties for the purpose of commencing voter registration starting with the updated lists of the 1974 census. The Secretary-General was requested to report to the Council on the prospects and modalities for holding the referendum by the end 1993 at the latest. He was also requested to include proposals for the necessary adjustments to the role and strength of MINURSO. The Council urged the two parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in implementing the settlement plan for Western Sahara and to resolve their differences regarding the criteria for voter eligibility.

On 21 May, the Secretary-General, in an interim report, informed the Security Council about the consultations his Special Representative had initiated with the parties on a possible compromise regarding the interpretation and application of the voter eligibility criteria, and about his decision to visit the region in the first week of June "to make one more effort to seek a compromise solution".

The Secretary-General also reported that discussions had been held with the parties on a number of issues relating to an early registration of voters. After both sides confirmed their desire to proceed promptly with the registration of voters and to cooperate with MINURSO in this regard, it was decided to establish an Identification Commission for the Referendum in Western Sahara. On 23 April, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Erik Jensen (Malaysia) as Chairman of the Commission. On 15 March 1994, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Jensen as his Deputy Special Representative for Western Sahara, in addition to his responsibility as Chairman of the Identification Commission.

COMPROMISE PROPOSAL

The parties continued to have fundamentally divergent positions on the establishment of the electorate, one party (Morocco) wanting to make all Saharans eligible to participate in the referendum, while the other (the Frente POLISARIO) wanting to limit participation, so far as possible, to those counted in the Territory in the 1974 census, in order to avoid including those it regarded as foreign to the Territory.

During a visit to the area from 31 May to 4 June 1993, the Secretary-General presented to the parties a comprehensive text outlining a compromise solution with regard to the interpretation and application of the criteria for voter eligibility. The compromise proposal represented a practical and valid, although imperfect, basis for a preliminary selection of potential voters. The formula took due account of the fact that the applicant belonged to a Saharan tribe. It was based solely on the 1974 census which, while imperfect itself, provided the only demographic and tribal data about the Territory. Applicants would still have to meet the criteria for voter eligibility before being registered on the final electoral roll. The compromise text could not be expected to meet all the concerns of the parties or conform entirely to their views. Nevertheless, the Secretary-General believed that the interpretation of the criteria and the procedures for verification represented a compromise between conflicting positions that was even-handed and fair.

Another round of meetings was held by the Secretary-General's Special Representative from 5 to 20 June 1993. During these and subsequent consultations, both parties reaffirmed their commitment to the implementation of the peace plan in its entirety and their determination to move towards an early referendum. Both sides stressed that they did not reject the proposed compromise but expressed reservations on certain provisions of the text.

In spite of its reservations, Morocco has since acquiesced in the compromise in its present form. While conveying its acceptance of all the eligibility criteria of 19 December 1991, the Frente POLISARIO has expressed substantial reservations on the proposed compromise concerning their interpretation and application and requested several amendments to the text.

On 28 July 1993, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that shortly after his visit to the area, the two parties agreed to initiate direct talks and to ask for the assistance of the United Nations in holding this meeting. The delegations of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO met from 17 to 19 July 1993 at Laayoune, in the presence of the Special Representative as United Nations observer. The Secretary-General described this event as an encouraging sign and expressed his hope that such talks would be resumed soon.

The Secretary-General also informed the Council that, in the meantime, the Chairman of the Identification Commission had travelled to the region in order to prepare for the initiation of the process of identification and registration of voters.

In the letter addressed to the Secretary-General by the President of the Security Council dated 4 August 1993, the Council fully supported efforts to make early progress on the preparations for holding the referendum in accordance with resolution 809 (1993) and welcomed the reaffirmation by the two parties of their commitment to the implementation of the settlement plan in its entirety.

SECRETARY-GENERAL REMAINS HOPEFUL

The direct talks between the Government of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO, initiated in July 1993 at Laayoune, were scheduled to resume on 25 October 1993 in New York. While ground rules laid down for the resumption of talks gave to each party the right to choose the composition of its delegation, the POLISARIO delegation "found it impossible" to meet with the other party because of the presence of former POLISARIO officials in the Moroccan delegation. Despite efforts by the Secretary-General's Special Representative to find ways of overcoming the procedural difficulties, the talks did not take place.

On 27 October, the Secretary-General issued a statement in which he deeply regretted the failure of the parties to meet. At the same time, he remained hopeful that a dialogue between the two parties "may be resumed in due course". In the meantime, the Secretary-General was determined to continue efforts for the implementation of the settlement plan and to proceed with the identification and registration of potential voters in the referendum.

REFERENDUM RESCHEDULED FOR 1994

On 24 November 1993, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that, in view of the remaining difficulties in the implementation of the settlement plan, it would not be possible to fulfil the goal of holding a free and fair referendum by the end of 1993. However, on the assumption that those difficulties were settled and progress made in the initial stages of the voter registration process, the Secretary-General hoped to be able to propose to the Council early in 1994 a detailed timetable for holding the referendum in mid-1994. He further proposed to maintain the existing military and civilian strength of MINURSO until his next report to the Council.

In a letter to the Secretary-General dated 6 December 1993 from the President of the Security Council, the Council agreed that the Secretary-General's compromise proposal was a sound framework for determining potential participation in the referendum in Western Sahara as foreseen in the settlement plan, and expected that any difficulties with the compromise would be resolved by early 1994. The Council also welcomed the Secretary-General's determination to move ahead and proceed with voter registration and identification.

VOTER REGISTRATION

After the Chairman of the Identification Commission had arrived in the mission area towards the end of May 1993, he assembled the members of the Commission and a team of registration officers. The former group arrived in Laayoune in June. The Chairman and his team have held intensive discussions with the authorities of both parties on modalities which would enable identification and registration to proceed in a thorough and judicious manner. They have also made essential arrangements for voter registration both in Western Sahara and in the Tindouf area (Algeria).

On 3 November 1993, after several rounds of discussions with both parties, the Chairman of the Commission officially announced the launching of the process leading to identification and registration. He then held a further series of discussions with both the Government of Morocco and the Frente POLISARIO urging them to adhere as far as possible to the timetable agreed upon by the parties in October 1993. During these consultations, both sides confirmed their intention to proceed expeditiously with the initial stage of the registration process in cooperation with MINURSO.

In late November 1993, the revised lists of the 1974 census, together with the supplement listing the names of additional persons expected to reach 18 years of age by 31 December 1993, were made accessible in Laayoune and in the El-Aiun refugee camp in the Tindouf area. Since December 1993, application forms have been supplied and distributed, initially through centres in Laayoune and in the Tindouf area. Additional registration offices are to be opened in the other population centres in the Territory as well as in a few locations outside the Territory where numbers of Western Saharans are known to be living.

The Secretary-General's Special Representative visited the mission area from 2 to 13 January 1994 for consultations with the parties and the neighbouring countries on the situation and ways of resolving the remaining difficulties. He provided assurances to allay the concerns of the Frente POLISARIO that, on the basis of the compromise, thousands of individuals foreign to the Territory might be included in the electorate. These assurances were confirmed and further elaborated in a letter dated 4 February 1994 from the Special Representative to the representative of the Frente POLISARIO in New York.

OPTIONS BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL

In his 10 March 1994 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General noted that although the preliminary registration of applicants for participation in the referendum had proceeded in Laayoune and the Tindouf area, the completion of the identification and final registration of all eligible voters remained uncertain in the absence of agreement by the Frente POLISARIO to the compromise as a whole. He further pointed out that, following protracted delays since the inception of MINURSO, every possible avenue had been explored by himself and his Special Representative to break the deadlock over the criteria and their interpretation so that the plan could be implemented. The fact that these efforts had not succeeded confronted the Security Council with a difficult choice. The Secretary-General continued by presenting three options facing the Council.

Under option A, the Council would decide that the United Nations should proceed to hold the referendum regardless of the cooperation of either party. Registration and identification of eligible voters would proceed based on the compromise, the terms of reference of the Identification Commission and the relevant provisions of the settlement plan. The transitional period would commence on 1 August 1994. The Identification Commission would analyse voter applications from March to May 1994 and would begin registration in June, at which time it would also announce the arrangements for the appeals process. By September, voter registration would be completed and the final list of voters would be published.

The United Nations would also undertake other activities called for in the original settlement plan. From 7 to 15 December 1994, the referendum would be held, the results would be proclaimed, and the withdrawal of MINURSO personnel would commence. The MINURSO's monitoring responsibilities would end by 31 December 1994.

Option B, would have the Council decide that the Identification Commission should continue its work while the United Nations continued its efforts to obtain the cooperation of both parties based on the compromise proposal put forward by the Secretary-General. At the end of a prescribed period, for example on 30 June 1994, the Council would review progress achieved and would decide on its next course of action. Until that time, the Identification Commission would be expected to complete its analysis of voter applications and begin registration of potential voters.

Under option C, the Council would conclude that the cooperation of the parties in completing the registration process could not be obtained at present and would decide either that the whole MINURSO operation should be phased out within a given time-frame or that the registration and identification process should be suspended, but that a reduced United Nations military presence should be retained in order to encourage respect for the cease-fire.

The Secretary-General noted that either option A or option B would require Member States to be willing to provide military personnel. Even maintenance of MINURSO at its present strength would require urgent action to obtain replacements for the contingents whose withdrawal had already been announced by their Governments.

On 29 March 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 907 (1994), agreed to the course of action as outlined in option B of the Secretary-General's report and requested him to report no later than 15 July 1994 on progress achieved in the Identification Commission's work as well as on other aspects of the settlement plan. It also decided that, in the event the Secretary-General reports that the referendum cannot be held by the end of 1994, it would consider MINURSO's future, including an examination of options regarding its mandate and continued operations.

COMPOSITION OF MINURSO

The strength of MINURSO, in its present limited deployment, includes 224 military observers and 97 military support personnel. Originally, the military personnel were provided by Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, China, Egypt, France, Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Honduras, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Russian Federation, Switzerland, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States and Venezuela. In October 1993, the Government of the United Kingdom withdrew its military observers. In addition, in his 10 March 1994 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General indicated that the Governments of Australia, Canada and Switzerland, which provided the entire military support personnel, had advised him of their intention to withdraw their units from MINURSO between May and June 1994 and that, although a number of Member States had been approached for replacement units, none had so far provided a positive response. Since the March 1994 report of the Secretary-General, the Republic of Korea has expressed intention to replace Switzerland.

MINURSO also includes 26 civilian police officers, led by the Police Commissioner, Colonel Jürgen Friedrich Reimann (Germany). Their primary responsibility is to ensure security and order at identification and registration sites. Police officers were originally contributed by Austria, Belgium, Germany, Malaysia and Togo. Subsequently, the civilian police contingent provided by the Government of Belgium has been replaced by a contingent contributed by the Government of Uruguay.

On 30 April 1994, military and civilian police personnel were provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Argentina			5
Australia		43	2
Austria	6		1
Bangladesh			7
Belgium			1
Canada		14	16
China			20
Egypt			9
France			30
Germany	5		
Ghana			4
Greece			1
Guinea			1
Honduras		2	14
Ireland			5
Italy			5
Kenya			10
Malaysia	5		6
Nigeria			1
Pakistan			4
Poland			2
Russian Federation			30
Switzerland		38	
Togo	5		
Tunisia			9
United States			30
Uruguay	5		
Venezuela			11
TOTAL	26	97	224

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

In addition, some 179 international and local civilian staff members are assigned to MINURSO in support of its mandate.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The rough annual cost of MINURSO, in its present deployment, is approximately $40 million. The operation is funded by assessed contributions of United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the MINURSO Special Account amounted to approximately $20 million.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTION FORCE[1]

LOCATION: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

HEADQUARTERS: Zagreb, Croatia

DURATION: March 1992 to present

STRENGTH: 33,298 troops and support personnel, 593 military observers, 664 civilian police, 1,075 international civilian staff and 1,574 local staff

FATALITIES: 87 (as of 24 May 1994)

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND CHIEF OF MISSION: Mr. Yasushi Akashi (Japan)

FORCE COMMANDER: General Bertrand de Sauville de La Presle (France)

BACKGROUND

Serious fighting in Croatia began in June 1991 when that Republic and its northern neighbour, Slovenia, declared themselves independent from Yugoslavia,[2] and Serbs living in Croatia, supported by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), opposed this move. Efforts by the European Community to stop the hostilities in mid-1991 and to resolve the crisis in the framework of the Conference on Yugoslavia had proved unsuccessful.

The United Nations became actively involved in the situation in Yugoslavia on 25 September 1991 when the Security Council, meeting at the ministerial level, unanimously adopted its resolution 713 (1991) expressing deep concern at the fighting in that country and calling on all States to implement immediately a "general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia". The Council commended and fully supported the efforts already undertaken by the European Community and its member States, with the support of the States participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), to restore peace and dialogue in Yugoslavia. By its resolution, the Council invited the Secretary-General to offer his assistance in consultation with the Government of Yugoslavia and all those promoting the peace efforts.

On 8 October 1991, then Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar appointed Mr. Cyrus Vance, former United States Secretary of State, as his Personal Envoy for Yugoslavia. Thereafter, the Secretary-General and his Personal Envoy maintained constant contact with all the parties to the conflict, with the Presidency of the European Community, with the Chairman of the CSCE-participating States, with Lord Carrington, then Chairman of the European Community's Conference on Yugoslavia, and with other interested parties in their efforts to find a solution to the crisis. It soon became clear that the most valuable contribution the United Nations could make at that stage was a peace-keeping operation to create the necessary conditions for the pursuit of political negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

As part of the collective effort to stop the fighting and to find a peaceful solution to the conflict, the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy undertook several missions to Yugoslavia and discussed with all parties concerned, among other things, the feasibility of deploying a United Nations peace-keeping operation. On 23 November, the Personal Envoy convened in

Geneva a meeting which was attended by the Presidents of Serbia and of Croatia and the Secretary of State for National Defence of Yugoslavia, as well as Lord Carrington. During the meeting, the Yugoslav parties reached agreement on an immediate cease-fire and on a number of other issues. Each of the Yugoslav parties expressed the wish to see the speedy establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation. However, while progress was made on the other issues, the cease-fire broke down almost immediately.

On 27 November, the Security Council, by its resolution 721 (1991), approved the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Personal Envoy, and endorsed the statement made by the Personal Envoy to the parties that the deployment of a United Nations peace-keeping operation in Yugoslavia could not be envisaged without full compliance by all parties with the Geneva agreement. During subsequent weeks of intensive negotiations with the parties concerned, the implementation of the Geneva agreement was pursued and the general principles were defined for a United Nations peace-keeping operation. On 15 December, the Security Council, by its resolution 724 (1991), approved the Secretary-General's report which contained a plan for a possible peace-keeping operation. A small group of military officers, civilian police and United Nations Secretariat staff travelled to Yugoslavia to prepare for the implementation of this plan.

Thereafter, the Secretary-General and his Personal Envoy focused their efforts on consolidating the cease-fire and on securing unconditional acceptance of the United Nations plan by all parties to the conflict, including assurances of their readiness to cooperate fully in its implementation. Keeping the Security Council informed of these efforts and the developments in the country, the Secretary-General reported on several occasions that, despite widespread support in Yugoslavia for a United Nations peace-keeping operation, the necessary conditions for its establishment still did not exist.

On 2 January 1992, as part of his attempts to remove the remaining obstacles, the Personal Envoy convened in Sarajevo a meeting between military representatives of the Republic of Croatia and representatives of the JNA, at which the Implementing Accord on the unconditional cease-fire was signed. With the Security Council's concurrence, the newly elected Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali then sent to Yugoslavia a group of 50 military liaison officers, with the task of using their good offices to promote maintenance of the cease-fire by facilitating communication between the two sides and by helping them to resolve difficulties that might arise. In the meantime, the Personal Envoy, the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations and their team continued their efforts to secure the cooperation of all Yugoslav parties in implementing the United Nations plan for a peace-keeping operation.

On 15 February 1992, notwithstanding the fact that certain political groups in Yugoslavia were still expressing objections to the United Nations plan, the Secretary-General recommended to the Security Council the establishment of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). In making this recommendation, he stressed that, in his view, the danger that a United Nations peace-keeping operation would fail for lack of cooperation from the parties was less grievous than the danger that delay in its dispatch would lead to a breakdown of the cease-fire and to a new conflagration.

On 21 February, the Security Council, by its resolution 743 (1992), approved the report and established UNPROFOR for an initial period of 12 months. The Council confirmed that the Force should be an interim arrangement to create the conditions of peace and security required for the negotiation of an overall settlement of the Yugoslav crisis within the framework of the European Community's Conference on Yugoslavia. It requested the Secretary-General to deploy immediately those elements of UNPROFOR which could assist in developing an implementation plan for the earliest possible full deployment of the Force.

On 7 April, after receiving a report from the Secretary-General on 2 April that all the Force Commander's interlocutors had emphasized the need for the earliest possible deployment of UNPROFOR, the Security Council, by its resolution 749 (1992), authorized the full deployment of the Force.

UNPROFOR: FEBRUARY 1992 — FEBRUARY 1993

The operational mandate of UNPROFOR extends to five Republics of the former Yugoslavia — Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia,[3/] Montenegro and Serbia — and it has a liaison presence in the sixth, Slovenia.

CROATIA

UNITED NATIONS PROTECTED AREAS

UNPROFOR is deployed in certain areas in Croatia, designated as United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs), in which the United Nations Security Council judged that special interim arrangements were required to ensure that a lasting cease-fire was maintained. The UNPAs are areas in which Serbs constitute the majority or a substantial minority of the population and where inter-communal tensions have led to armed conflict. There are three UNPAs: Eastern Slavonia, Western Slavonia and Krajina. For United Nations purposes, they have been divided into four sectors: East, North, South and West.

The original United Nations plan in Croatia rests on two central elements: (a) the withdrawal of the JNA from all of Croatia and the demilitarization of the UNPAs; and (b) the continuing functioning, on an interim basis, of the existing local authorities and police, under United Nations supervision, pending the achievement of an overall political solution to the crisis.

UNPROFOR's mandate is to ensure that the UNPAs are demilitarized, through the withdrawal or disbandment of all armed forces in them, and that all persons residing in them are protected from fear of armed attack. To this end, UNPROFOR is authorized to control access to the UNPAs, to ensure that the UNPAs remain demilitarized, and to monitor the functioning of the local police there to help ensure non-discrimination and the protection of human rights. Outside the UNPAs, UNPROFOR military observers are to verify the withdrawal of all the JNA and irregular forces from Croatia, other than those disbanded and demobilized there. In support of the work of the humanitarian agencies of the United Nations, UNPROFOR is also to facilitate the return, in conditions of safety and security, of civilian displaced persons to their homes in the UNPAs.

UNPROFOR initially established its headquarters in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina; it is now headquartered in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia.

ENLARGEMENTS OF MANDATE IN CROATIA

Since the establishment of UNPROFOR, there have been several enlargements of its mandate in Croatia. On 30 June 1992, the Security Council, by its resolution 762 (1992), authorized UNPROFOR to undertake monitoring functions in the "pink zones" — certain areas of Croatia controlled by the JNA and populated by then largely by Serbs, but which were outside the agreed UNPA boundaries. It also recommended the establishment of a Joint Commission chaired by UNPROFOR and consisting of representatives of the Government of Croatia and of the local authorities in the region, with the participation of the European Community Monitoring Mission (ECMM), to oversee and monitor the restoration of authority by the Croatian Government in the "pink zones".

On 7 August 1992, the Security Council, by its resolution 769 (1992), authorized the enlargement of UNPROFOR's strength and mandate to enable the Force to control the entry of civilians into the UNPAs and to perform immigration and customs functions at the UNPA borders at international frontiers.

The third enlargement of UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia came about on 6 October 1992, when the Security Council adopted its resolution 779 (1992), authorizing UNPROFOR to assume responsibility for monitoring of the demilitarization of the Prevlaka Peninsula near Dubrovnik. By the same resolution, the Council approved the Secretary-General's action to ensure the control by UNPROFOR of the vitally important Peruca dam, situated in one of the "pink zones" in Croatia.

RENEWED HOSTILITIES

On 22 January 1993, the Croatian Army launched an offensive in a number of locations in the southern part of UNPROFOR's Sector South and the adjacent "pink zones". The Croatian Government stated that it took this action out of impatience with the slow progress of negotiations in respect of various economic facilities in and adjacent to the UNPAs and "pink zones". On 27 January, the Croatian Army attacked and captured the Peruca dam. The Serbs responded to the Croatian offensive by breaking into a number of storage areas, which were under joint control under a double-lock system in the UNPAs, and by removing their weapons, including heavy weapons.

UNPROFOR warned both the Croatian Government and the Serb authorities not to attempt further incursions into the UNPAs. The Force also sought to limit the damage caused by the fighting, and made repeated representations to the parties concerned with a view to preventing escalation and bringing about a cease-fire.

On 25 January, the Security Council adopted its resolution 802 (1993), in which it demanded an immediate cessation of hostile activities by Croatian armed forces within or adjacent to the UNPAs and their withdrawal from these areas, an end to attacks against UNPROFOR personnel, return of all heavy weapons seized from UNPROFOR–controlled storage areas, and strict compliance by all parties with the terms of cease-fire arrangements. It called upon all parties to cooperate fully with the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia[4] and to refrain from any actions which might undermine efforts aimed at reaching a political settlement.

As to the implementation of this resolution, the Croatian Government on 26 January informed the Force Commander of UNPROFOR that, upon compliance by the Serb side with the various provisions of the resolution, they would remove their military, but not their police, from the areas they had taken. For its part, the Serb side stated that Croatia must return to its pre-22 January positions before the implementation of the remainder of the resolution could be considered.

Eventually, after several rounds of talks held under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, the Government of Croatia and the Serb local authorities signed an agreement regarding the implementation of resolution 802 (1993).

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Although the mandate of UNPROFOR originally related only to Croatia, it was envisaged that after the demilitarization of the UNPAs, 100 UNPROFOR military observers would be redeployed from Croatia to certain parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, in light of the deteriorating situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary-General decided to accelerate this deployment by sending 40 military observers to the Mostar region of that Republic on 30 April 1992. In May, despite all diplomatic efforts by the European Community, the Secretary-General's representatives and UNPROFOR to negotiate a lasting cease-fire, the conflict — between the Bosnian Muslims and the Bosnian Croats on the one side and the Bosnian Serbs on the other — intensified. On 14 May, when risks to their lives reached an unacceptable level, the observers were withdrawn from the area and redeployed in the UNPAs in Croatia. About two thirds of UNPROFOR headquarters personnel also withdrew from Sarajevo on 16 and 17 May, leaving behind some 100 military personnel and civilian staff who lent their good offices to promote local cease-fires and humanitarian activities.

In a series of resolutions and statements, the Security Council appealed to all parties to bring about a cease-fire and a negotiated political solution, and demanded, *inter alia*, that all forms of interference from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, including by JNA, as well as by the Croatian Army, cease immediately and that all local irregular forces be disbanded and disarmed.

On 30 May, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council, in its resolution 757 (1992), imposed wide-ranging sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (which by then consisted of Serbia and Montenegro), in order to help achieve a peaceful solution to the conflict. It also demanded that all parties create the conditions necessary for unimpeded delivery of humanitarian supplies to

Sarajevo and other destinations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the establishment of a security zone encompassing Sarajevo and its airport. The Council requested the Secretary-General to continue using his good offices to achieve this objective.

SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AT SARAJEVO AIRPORT

In keeping with the Council's request, UNPROFOR pursued negotiations with the parties to the conflict aimed at stopping the fighting around the airport and reopening it for humanitarian purposes. On 6 June 1992, the Secretary-General reported to the Council that UNPROFOR had negotiated, on 5 June, an agreement for the handing over to the Force of the Sarajevo airport. On 8 June, the Security Council, by its resolution 758 (1992), approved the enlargement of UNPROFOR's mandate and strength and authorized the Secretary-General to deploy military observers and related personnel and equipment to Sarajevo to supervise the withdrawal of anti-aircraft weapons and the concentration of heavy weapons at agreed locations in the city.

Following intensive work by UNPROFOR to establish modalities of implementation of the 5 June agreement, and a visit to Sarajevo by President François Mitterrand of France on 28 June, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council, on 29 June, that Bosnian Serb forces had been withdrawing from the Sarajevo airport, and both sides — the Serb and the Bosnia Presidential forces — had begun to concentrate their heavy weapons in locations to be supervised by UNPROFOR. On the same day, the Council, by resolution 761 (1992), authorized deployment of additional elements of UNPROFOR to ensure the security and functioning of the airport. By 3 July, despite continued fighting in the area, United Nations observers and troops were deployed at the airport and at other locations in Sarajevo, and the airport was reopened for the humanitarian airlift.

PROTECTION OF HUMANITARIAN CONVOYS

On 13 August 1992, the Security Council, disturbed by the situation prevailing in Sarajevo, which severely complicated UNPROFOR's efforts to ensure the security and functioning of Sarajevo airport and the delivery of humanitarian assistance, adopted resolution 770 (1992). The Council, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, called on States to "take nationally or through regional agencies or arrangements all measures necessary" to facilitate, in coordination with the United Nations, the delivery of humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and wherever needed in other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In further discussions, however, it was decided that that task should be entrusted to UNPROFOR. On 10 September, following consultations with a number of Governments, the Secretary-General submitted a further report to the Security Council recommending the expansion of UNPROFOR's mandate and strength in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He proposed that UNPROFOR's task, under its enlarged mandate, would be to support efforts by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to deliver humanitarian relief throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, and in particular to provide protection, at UNHCR's request, where and when UNHCR considered such protection necessary. In addition, UNPROFOR could be used to protect convoys of released civilian detainees if the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) so requested and if the Force Commander agreed that the request was practicable. UNPROFOR would be deployed in four or five new zones. In each zone there would be an infantry battalion group, whose headquarters would also include civilian staff to undertake political and information functions and liaison with UNHCR. UNPROFOR troops would follow normal peace-keeping rules of engagement, which authorize them to use force in self-defence, including situations in which armed persons attempt by force to prevent them from carrying out their mandate.

In resolution 776 (1992), which was adopted on 14 September 1992 and which made no reference to Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's report and authorized the enlargement of UNPROFOR's mandate and strength in Bosnia and Herzegovina for these purposes. A separate Bosnia and Herzegovina Command was established within UNPROFOR to implement resolution 776 (1992), in addition to Sector Sarajevo.

"NO-FLY ZONE"

In a further development, the Security Council, on 9 October 1992, adopted its resolution 781 (1992) banning all military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, except for those of UNPROFOR and other flights in support of United Nations operations, including humanitarian assistance. The Council requested UNPROFOR to monitor compliance with the ban, and that it place observers, where necessary, at airfields in the former Yugoslavia. The Council also requested that the Force employ "an appropriate mechanism for approval and inspection" to ensure that the purpose of other flights to and from Bosnia and Herzegovina was consistent with its resolutions. It also called on States to provide technical assistance to UNPROFOR in its monitoring efforts. On 10 November, the Security Council adopted its resolution 786 (1992) authorizing the expansion of UNPROFOR's strength by 75 military observers to enable it to monitor airfields in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

BORDER CONTROL

On 16 November 1992, the Security Council adopted its resolution 787 (1992), in which, among other things, it considered that, in order to facilitate the implementation of the relevant Council resolutions, observers should be deployed on the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and requested the Secretary-General to present his recommendations on this matter. The resolutions in question were: resolution 713 (1991), which, *inter alia*, established a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Yugoslavia; resolution 752 (1992), which, *inter alia*, demanded that all forms of interference from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, including by units of the JNA as well as elements of the Croatian Army, cease immediately; resolution 757 (1992), which imposed comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); and resolution 787 (1992), which, *inter alia*, demanded that all forms of interference from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, including infiltration into the country of irregular units and personnel, cease immediately.

On 21 December, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his recommendations. In the report, he indicated that in order to ensure compliance with the relevant Security Council resolutions, it would be necessary to give UNPROFOR a mandate which would include the right not only to search but also to turn back or confiscate military personnel, weapons, or sanctioned goods whose passage into or out of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be contrary to the decisions of the Council. He pointed out that a symbolic presence at selected crossing points would "not only fail to fulfil the Council's requirements, but would also undermine the already strained credibility of UNPROFOR". He proposed, therefore, an enlargement of UNPROFOR with some 10,000 additional troops to provide for a 24-hour observation and search operation at 123 crossing points on Bosnia and Herzegovina's border with neighbouring countries.

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

On 11 November 1992, the President of Macedonia conveyed to the Secretary-General a request for the deployment of United Nations observers in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in view of his concern about the possible impact on it of fighting elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. Such deployment was also recommended by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. With the Security Council's approval, the Secretary-General sent to Macedonia from 28 November to 3 December a group of military, police and civilian personnel to assess the situation and prepare a report concerning a possible deployment of UNPROFOR in that Republic.

On 9 December, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report in which he recommended an expansion of the mandate and strength of UNPROFOR to establish a United Nations presence on Macedonia's borders with Albania and the Federal Republic of

Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). He indicated that the Force's mandate would be essentially preventive, to monitor and report any developments in the border areas which could undermine confidence and stability in Macedonia and threaten its territory. The Secretary-General recommended that the enlargement of UNPROFOR comprise an estimated battalion of up to 700 all ranks, 35 military observers, 26 civilian police monitors, 10 civil affairs staff, 45 administrative staff and local interpreters. This contingent would operate under UNPROFOR's "Macedonia Command" with headquarters in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia. The Security Council, by its resolution 795 (1992) of 11 December, approved the Secretary-General's report and authorized the establishment of UNPROFOR's presence in Macedonia.

Subsequently, on 18 June 1993, the Security Council welcomed the United States offer to provide about 300 troops to reinforce UNPROFOR's presence in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In adopting resolution 842 (1993), the Council authorized the deployment of the additional personnel.

SECRETARY-GENERAL REVIEWS UNPROFOR ACTIVITIES

As already noted, UNPROFOR was established on 21 February 1992 by Security Council resolution 743 (1992) for an initial period of 12 months. On 10 February 1993, before the mandate of the Force expired, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council a report in which he summarized the activities of UNPROFOR and presented his recommendations on its future.

CROATIA

In analysing the situation in Croatia, the Secretary-General described UNPROFOR's experience there as a mixed one. Its principal success had been in ensuring the complete withdrawal of the JNA from the territory of Croatia, including the Prevlaka Peninsula. Until the fourth week of January 1993, UNPROFOR's presence had also helped to prevent a recurrence of hostilities in the UNPAs and "pink zones". However, non-cooperation by the local Serb authorities had prevented UNPROFOR from achieving the demilitarization of the UNPAs and the disarming of the Serb Territorial Defence and irregular forces in these areas and in the "pink zones". As a result, UNPROFOR had not been able to establish the conditions of peace and security that would have permitted the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons to their homes in these areas. Nor had it been able to establish the border controls called for in resolution 769 (1992).

The civilian aspects of UNPROFOR's activities, notably the efforts of United Nations civilian police to prevent discrimination and abuse of the human rights of residents in the UNPAs, had not proved fully successful despite UNPROFOR's best efforts. An atmosphere of terror and intimidation existed in many parts of the four sectors through much of the first ten months of the mandate period. However, since November 1992, the situation had shown improvement in all but a few areas. The maintenance of law and order was gradually enhanced through the reorganization and redeployment of the local police.

However, while the non-cooperation of the local Serb authorities had seriously impeded implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan, the Croatian offensive on and after 22 January 1993, referred to above, had significantly altered the situation on the ground. The President of Croatia, Mr. Franjo Tudjman, declared that the willingness of his Government to agree to an extension of UNPROFOR's mandate was dependent on progress in a number of areas. He also urged the Council to grant UNPROFOR an enforcement mandate. For its part, the Serb leadership in the UNPAs had rearmed and remobilized its forces in response to the Croatian offensive and had received substantial reinforcements of Serb fighters from elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia. Serb militias had broken into storage depots holding heavy weapons placed there under the peace-keeping plan. The Serb side had also refused to enter into negotiations with the Croat side, or to return the heavy weapons taken from storage, unless the Croatian armed forces withdrew to the positions they occupied before the offensive. Such a withdrawal, in turn, was categorically rejected by the Croatian authorities.

In addition, the Secretary-General continued, the circumstances in which the peace-keeping plan was drafted and agreed in late 1991 and early 1992 had themselves changed. The plan was envisaged as an interim arrangement pending an overall political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The Government of Croatia claimed there was no longer any "overall political solution" to negotiate. The only issue was the return of the UNPAs and the "pink zones" to Croatian control. The Serb leadership in the UNPAs, however, refused to consider these territories to be a part of Croatia and rejected talks on this basis, recalling that the plan was explicitly not intended to prejudge a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis. Further, the Serbs argued that two parties to the original plan, the President of Serbia and the Federal Yugoslav military authorities in Belgrade, no longer had recognized legal status in the areas where UNPROFOR was deployed. Therefore, the mandate and deployment of UNPROFOR now needed to be discussed anew with the Serbs representing the so-called "Republic of Serb Krajina".

In these circumstances, the Secretary-General saw three options with regard to UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia: (1) to renew the mandate entrusted to UNPROFOR by resolution 743 (1992), with no change; (2) to modify that mandate; and (3) to give UNPROFOR no mandate in Croatia and confine its operations to Bosnia and Herzegovina and to Macedonia.

Referring to option one, the Secretary-General stated that the Government of Croatia made it clear that it could agree to a renewal of UNPROFOR's present mandate only if certain conditions were met, including the complete disarmament of all paramilitary forces and militia in the UNPAs and the "pink zones" with a destruction of their heavy weapons, voluntary and unconditional return of all refugees and displaced persons to their homes in the UNPAs, maintenance of tight controls by the Force in those border areas where the boundaries of the UNPAs coincide with internationally recognized frontiers of Croatia; and restoration of Croatian authority in the "pink zones". The Government's position, in effect, required UNPROFOR either to negotiate results which — as a peace-keeping force relying on the cooperation of the parties — it had no power to compel the other side to accept, or to risk unilateral military action by the Government. In addition, the Croatian offensive had had a devastating effect on cooperation between UNPROFOR and the local Serb authorities, who felt "betrayed" by what they saw as UNPROFOR's failure to protect them, and had put in doubt the feasibility of a return to the original plan.

On the second option, the Secretary-General warned against any modification resulting in enforcement action, saying that such action would involve the danger of placing UNPROFOR in direct conflict with the Serbs. Enforcement would also require additional military forces and equipment which could not be deployed immediately upon the passage of an enforcement resolution by the Security Council. The mere passage of an enforcement resolution risked threatening the safety and security of United Nations peace-keeping personnel deployed in the UNPAs and some, perhaps most, troop-contributing countries might in these circumstances review their participation in UNPROFOR. Enforcement, the Secretary-General stated, "would be a fundamental contradiction of the nature and purpose of UNPROFOR's deployment in Croatia, as a peace-keeping force entrusted with the implementation of a plan agreed by all parties." As to an alternative modification of the mandate which would convert UNPROFOR into a buffer force deployed along the present front lines in order to prevent a recurrence of hostilities, the Secretary-General did not believe that such an approach would receive the consent of the Government of Croatia.

Speaking of option three, the Secretary-General believed that the withdrawal of UNPROFOR from the UNPAs would almost certainly result in the resumption of large-scale hostilities in the areas of its deployment, nullifying the political effort and the material resources invested in ending the conflict that had raged for nearly a year before the deployment of UNPROFOR.

In the Secretary-General's judgement, the difficulties which UNPROFOR and the Security Council faced with regard to the Force's mandate in Croatia could be attributed to two principal factors: the inability to implement the peace-keeping plan; and the lack of an agreed settlement to the conflict between the Republic of Croatia and the Serb populations living in the UNPAs and the "pink zones". Unless these two factors were addressed, the Secretary-General concluded, a sound basis would not exist for renewing UNPROFOR's mandate in Croatia. Urgent efforts needed to be made to resolve the problems arising from the Croatian offensive, to establish a basis for completing the implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan and to agree on a framework for negotiating, within the principles of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, a settlement of the underlying dispute. The Secretary-General added that he had asked the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference to address these questions urgently with a view to establishing as soon as possible a basis on which a substantive recommendation could be made for an extension of UNPROFOR's mandate.

In the meantime, the Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council decide to extend UNPROFOR's existing mandate for an interim period up to 31 March 1993, in order to give the Co-Chairmen the necessary time.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Speaking of UNPROFOR activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where it had a more limited mandate, the Secretary-General noted in his February 1993 report that the Force had succeeded in keeping Sarajevo airport open, despite interruptions as a result of hostile military action against humanitarian aircraft. In the period from 3 July 1992 to 31 January 1993, the humanitarian airlift organized by UNHCR under UNPROFOR protection brought in 2,476 aircraft carrying 27,460 tons of food, medicines and other relief goods.

The operation to protect humanitarian convoys throughout the Republic had been persistently thwarted by obstruction, mines, hostile fire and the refusal of the parties on the ground, particularly, but not exclusively, the Bosnian Serb party, to cooperate with UNPROFOR. None the less, from the deployment of additional UNPROFOR battalions for this purpose in November 1992 until January 1993, a total of some 34,600 tons of relief supplies had been delivered to an estimated 800,000 beneficiaries in 110 locations throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Although the ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been violated by all three parties on nearly 400 occasions since its imposition, it had achieved its principal purpose of preventing the use of air power in military combat in the Republic. UNPROFOR observers, using AWACS information made available by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), had found no evidence to suggest that any party has flown combat air missions, or conducted hostilities from the air, since the interdiction regime was established by the Council.

UNPROFOR's efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary-General pointed out, had been characterized by a regrettable tendency on the part of the host Government to blame it for a variety of shortcomings, whether real or imagined. Criticism of UNPROFOR's performance in the Republic had largely been directed at its failure to fulfil tasks that the Force had not been mandated, authorized, equipped, staffed or financed to fulfil. There had been a number of attacks on the Force by the Government and by elements answerable to it, both in public statements and declarations and, more seriously, through violence, resulting in several UNPROFOR fatalities.

As to UNPROFOR's mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Secretary-General stated that it might need to be altered significantly when the outcome was known of the ongoing talks led by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Referring to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Secretary-General considered it premature to draw conclusions about the practicability of the mandate and the effectiveness of the UNPROFOR Macedonia Command in this first preventive deployment operation in the history of United Nations peace-keeping.

INTERIM EXTENSION OF MANDATE

On 19 February 1993, having considered the Secretary-General's report, the Security Council adopted resolution 807 (1993), by which it extended UNPROFOR's mandate for an interim period until 31 March 1993. The Council demanded, *inter alia*, that the parties and others concerned comply fully with the United Nations peace-keeping plan in Croatia and their other commitments, and refrain from positioning their forces near the UNPAs and in the "pink zones". It invited the Secretary-General to take all appropriate measures to strengthen the security of the Force, in particular by providing it with the necessary defensive means.

The Council urged the parties and others concerned to cooperate fully with the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia in the discussions under their auspices in order to ensure full implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping mandate in Croatia. It also demanded the full and strict observance of all relevant Security Council resolutions relating to the mandate and operations of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

UNPROFOR: FEBRUARY 1993 — APRIL 1994

CROATIA

MANDATE RENEWED

In accordance with Security Council resolution 807 (1993) mentioned earlier, the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia held several rounds of talks in New York and Geneva with representatives of the Government of Croatia and the Serb populations living in the UNPAs and the "pink zones". In his 25 March 1993 report to the Council, the Secretary-General stated that while some progress had been made in these talks, fundamental differences remained between the two sides. Having said that more time would be needed to bring the negotiations to a meaningful conclusion, he recommended the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate for a further interim period of three months. He urged the parties to cooperate in implementing UNPROFOR's existing mandate, and to resolve any remaining differences in a spirit of compromise and cooperation.

On 30 March, the Security Council, by adopting its resolution 815 (1993), extended the mandate of UNPROFOR for an additional interim period until 30 June 1993. It also decided to reconsider within one month, or at any time at the request of the Secretary-General, UNPROFOR's mandate in light of developments of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the situation on the ground. The Council requested the Secretary-General to report to it on how the United Nations peace plan for Croatia could be effectively implemented.

On 25 June, the Secretary-General submitted his further report on the situation in Croatia, in which he drew attention to the failure of the parties to permit implementation of the United Nations plan and to cooperate in establishing a political process leading to an early settlement. He noted, nevertheless, that the presence of UNPROFOR was indispensable for controlling the conflict, fostering a climate in which negotiations between the parties could be promoted, preventing the resumption or escalation of conflict, providing a breathing-space for the continued efforts of the peacemakers and for supporting the provision of essential humanitarian assistance. He also informed the Council that the termination of UNPROFOR's mandate at that point, in the judgement of his Special Representative, would risk the resumption of a major conflict in the region and cause severe adverse consequences for humanitarian relief operations. The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of the Force by a further three months, to 30 September 1993.

In its resolution 847 (1993) of 30 June 1993, the Security Council decided to extend UNPROFOR's mandate for an additional interim period terminating on 30 September 1993, and requested the Secretary-General to report after one month on progress towards implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia and all relevant Security Council resolutions.

On 16 August, the Secretary-General reported to the Council on this matter. He recommended that no action be taken at that stage and said that he would submit a further recommendation to the Council in the latter half of September 1993.

IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION 802

Following the renewed outbreak of hostilities in Croatia, precipitated by the Croatian incursion into the UNPAs and "pink zones" on 22 January 1993, intensive efforts were made within the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and by UNPROFOR to bring about a cease-fire and a restoration of the prior status in accordance with Security Council resolution 802 (1993) of 25 January 1993.

On 8 April 1993, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that representatives of the Government of Croatia and the Serb local authorities had signed, on 6 April, an agreement regarding the implementation of this resolution.

The agreement was to enter into force when the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia received from both parties assurances regarding the stationing of police in the areas from which the Croatian Government's armed forces were withdrawn, and their agreement that UNPROFOR should exclusively fulfil all police functions in those areas during an interim period. The Croats orally gave that assurance at the time of signature; the Serb assurance required the approval of their Assembly. That approval was not forthcoming and the agreement therefore did not enter into force.

The parties also agreed to begin talks, under the auspices of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee, within 15 days of implementation of the agreement in order to resolve outstanding obstacles to the full implementation of the United Nations plan for Croatia.

The UNPROFOR Force Commander assessed the additional resources required to implement the agreement and recommended that UNPROFOR be augmented by two mechanized infantry battalions of some 900 all ranks each, one engineer company of up to 150 troops all ranks, and 50 additional military observers. The Secretary-General recommended that, once the agreement entered into force, the Security Council approve the recommended changes to UNPROFOR's strength and mandate.

However, on 6 July 1993, new tensions arose following the decision of the Croatian Government to take unilateral actions aimed at rebuilding and reopening the Maslenica bridge on 18 July. Though, in pursuance of the Erdut/Zagreb agreement concluded on 15/16 July 1993, which required the withdrawal of Croatian armed forces and police from the area of the Maslenice bridge by 31 July 1993, UNPROFOR had moved 2,000 troops into the areas adjacent to those from which the Croatian forces were to withdraw, these troops could not be deployed because the Croatian military authorities would not allow UNPROFOR full access to the areas concerned.

On 2 August 1993, following Croatia's failure to withdraw from the area and Serb shelling thereof, one of the pontoons of the Maslenica bridge sank. However, the Co-Chairmen concluded that there was still enough common ground to continue negotiations. Accepting the invitation of the Co-Chairmen, the parties began negotiations in Geneva on 12 August 1993, on a cease-fire which would include the elements of the original Erdut/Zagreb agreement. Despite intensive discussions in Geneva, Zagreb and Knin between the representatives both of the Co-Chairmen and of the parties, an overall cease-fire agreement could not be achieved.

On 9 September, after several days of grave incidents in the UNPAs and "pink zones", and rising tensions, shelling intensified on both sides of the confrontation line, and the Croatian Army once again carried out a military incursion in the area of Medak, where three Serb villages were seized. The hostilities worsened on 10 and 11 September. Following the intervention of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and the UNPROFOR Force Commander, and a call from the Security Council, the parties finally agreed to a cease-fire on 15 September. UNPROFOR moved some 500 to 600 troops into the area to replace the Croatian armed forces which eventually withdrew to positions occupied before the incursion began.

When UNPROFOR gained access to the area it found that most houses had been deliberately destroyed during the withdrawal. Eighteen corpses were recovered, most of them riddled with multiple bullet wounds or incinerated.

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

"NO-FLY ZONE" ENFORCEMENT

On 16 March 1993, the Secretary-General reported that three aircraft dropped bombs on two villages east of Srebrenica on 13 March, before leaving in the direction of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). It was the first time since the Security Council instituted the "no-fly zone" in Bosnia and Herzegovina that aircraft were used in combat activity in that country. UNPROFOR was not able to determine to whom the aircraft belonged.

On 17 March, the Security Council, in a statement by its President, strongly condemned all violations of its relevant resolutions and underlined the fact that since the beginning of the monitoring operations in early November 1992, the United Nations had reported 465 violations of the "no-fly zone". The Council demanded from the Bosnian Serbs an immediate explanation of the violations and particularly of the aerial bombardment of the two villages, and requested the Secretary-General to ensure that an investigation was made of the reported possible use of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to launch air strikes against Bosnia and Herzegovina. On 27 April, the Secretary-General reported to the Council that on 24 March the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) had been requested to provide any information relevant to the incidents. The only response received was a note verbale conveying a statement by the Government of that country, in which it stated that "airplanes and helicopters of the Air Forces of the Army of Yugoslavia have not violated the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina since the no-fly zone came into effect".

On 31 March, the Security Council adopted its resolution 816 (1993), by which it extended the ban on military flights to cover flights by all fixed-wing and rotary-wing aircraft in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council authorized Member States, seven days after the adoption of the resolution, acting nationally or through regional arrangements, to take, under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR, "all necessary measures" in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina to ensure compliance with the ban on flights, and proportionate to the specific circumstances and the nature of flights. It also requested the Member States concerned, the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR to coordinate closely on those measures and on the starting date of the implementation, which was to be no later than 14 days from the date of the resolution, and to report on the starting date to the Council.

On 9 April, the Secretary-General transmitted to the Security Council a letter from the Secretary General of NATO, Dr. Manfred Wörner, informing him that the North Atlantic Council had adopted the "necessary arrangements" to ensure compliance with the ban on military flights and that it was prepared to begin the operation at noon GMT on 12 April 1993. Dr. Wörner also reported that France, the Netherlands, Turkey, the United Kingdom and the United States had offered to make aircraft available for the operation. In order to commence the enforcement on time, aircraft from France, the Netherlands and the United States were initially deployed in the region and liaison cells were established at UNPROFOR's headquarters in Zagreb and in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kiseljak). In addition, UNPROFOR would send a liaison team to the command headquarters of the NATO countries concerned.

The operations authorized by resolution 816 (1993) started, as scheduled, on 12 April at 12.00 GMT. Subsequently, the Secretary-General was informed by NATO that all the countries offering to make aircraft available for the operation would participate fully in it.

Since the establishment of the "no-fly zone" in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina through 28 April 1994, the total number of flights assessed as apparent violations of the ban was 1,620. The most serious incident took place on 28 February 1994, when NATO fighters, acting in accordance with the established procedure, shot down four of six jets in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina which had defied the international ban on military flights and ignored two warnings by the NATO fighters.

"SAFE AREAS"

In March 1993, fighting intensified in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, with Bosnian Serb paramilitary units attacking several cities in the area, including Srebrenica. The military attacks resulted in a heavy loss of life among the civilian population and severely impeded United Nations humanitarian relief efforts in the area. In mid-March, UNHCR reported that thousands of Muslims were seeking refuge in Srebrenica from surrounding areas which were being attacked and occupied by Serb forces, and that 30 or 40 persons were dying daily from military action, starvation, exposure to cold or lack of medical treatment. In April, despite strong political pressure from the international community and the Security Council, and the efforts by UNPROFOR and UNHCR in the field, the fighting persisted and the humanitarian situation in the area continued to deteriorate.

On 16 April, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, adopted resolution 819 (1993), in which it demanded that all parties treat Srebrenica and its surroundings as a "safe area" which should be free from any armed attack or any other hostile act. It demanded the immediate withdrawal of Bosnian Serb paramilitary units from areas surrounding Srebrenica and the cessation of armed attacks against that town. The Council requested the Secretary-General to take steps to increase the presence of UNPROFOR in Srebrenica and to arrange for the safe transfer of the ill and wounded, and demanded the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular to the civilian population of Srebrenica.

By other provisions of the resolution, the Council condemned and rejected the deliberate actions of the Bosnian Serb party to force the evacuation of civilians from Srebrenica and other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in its campaign of "ethnic cleansing". It also decided to send a mission of Council members to ascertain, firsthand, the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Following the adoption of the resolution, UNPROFOR's Force Commander, the Commander of the Serb forces and the Commander of the Bosnian Muslim forces signed, on 17 April, an agreement for the demilitarization of Srebrenica. On 21 April, UNPROFOR's Force Commander reported that 170 UNPROFOR troops, civilian police and military observers had been deployed in Srebrenica to collect weapons, ammunition, mines, explosives and combat supplies and that by noon on 21 April they had successfully demilitarized the town.

As requested in resolution 819 (1993), the Security Council's fact-finding mission, composed of representatives of France, Hungary, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Russian Federation and Venezuela, visited the region from 22 to 27 April. Having considered the mission's report and recommendations, the Security Council adopted resolution 824 (1993) of 6 May, in which it declared that, in addition to Srebrenica, Sarajevo and other such threatened areas, in particular the towns of Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde, Bihac and their surroundings, should be treated as safe areas by all the parties concerned. The Council further declared that in those areas armed attacks must cease, all Bosnian Serb military or paramilitary units must withdraw and all parties must allow UNPROFOR and the international humanitarian agencies free and unimpeded access to all safe areas. It authorized the strengthening of UNPROFOR's mandate by an additional 50 military observers to monitor the humanitarian situation in those areas.

On 4 June, the Security Council, by its resolution 836 (1993), acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, further expanded the mandate of UNPROFOR to enable it to protect the safe areas, including to deter attacks against them, to monitor the cease-fire, to promote the withdrawal of military or paramilitary units other than those of the Bosnian Government and to occupy some key points on the ground. The Council authorized UNPROFOR, acting in self-defence, to take necessary measures, including the use of force, in reply to bombardments against the safe areas or to armed incursion into them or in the event of any deliberate obstruction to the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR or of protected humanitarian convoys. The Council also decided that Member States, acting nationally or through regional arrangements, might take, under its authority, all necessary measures, through the use of air power, in and around the safe areas, to support UNPROFOR.

In response to the Council's invitation to report to it on the requirements for implementing the resolution, the Secretary-General, in his report dated 14 June, indicated that it would be necessary to deploy additional troops on the ground and to provide air support. While the UNPROFOR Force Commander had estimated an additional troop requirement of approximately 34,000 to obtain deterrence through strength, the Secretary-General stated that it was possible to start implementing the resolution under a "light option", with a minimal troop reinforcement of around 7,600. That option represented an initial approach and had limited objectives. It assumed the consent and cooperation of the parties and provided a basic level of deterrence.

As to the air support, the Secretary-General reported that he had initiated contacts with Member States and had invited NATO to coordinate with him the use of air power in support of UNPROFOR. The Secretary-General pointed out that the first decision to initiate the use of air resources in this context would be taken by him in consultation with the members of the Security Council.

In adopting resolution 844 (1993) of 18 June, the Security Council authorized an additional reinforcement of UNPROFOR initially by 7,600 troops and reaffirmed the use of air power, in and around the declared safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, to support the Force.

On 18 August, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that following the necessary training exercises in coordination with NATO, the United Nations had the operational capability for the use of air power in support of UNPROFOR.

HOSTILITIES IN CENTRAL BOSNIA

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was further aggravated when, in May 1993, intense fighting between the Muslim and Bosnian Croat forces erupted in central Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite the calls by the Security Council, efforts of the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee and UNPROFOR, hostilities between the two former allies have continued since then. The fighting has intermittently blocked the main supply routes for humanitarian assistance into northern Bosnia, and has further restricted the freedom of movement of UNPROFOR and UNHCR in the area. In this connection, UNPROFOR and UNHCR have initiated a humanitarian "Operation Lifeline" to keep the main routes open to help ensure the survival of up to 2.7 million people in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the winter.

BORDER CONTROL

On 10 June 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 838 (1993), requested the Secretary-General to submit a further report on options for the deployment of international observers on the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with priority being given to its borders with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), to monitor the implementation of the relevant Security Council resolutions. The Council called for international observers to be drawn from the United Nations and, if appropriate, from Member States.

The Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on 1 July. He presented two options and their respective requirements in terms of human and other resources.

On option one, the Secretary-General said that it would be unrealistic for the Security Council to authorize international observers to establish full control over the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina as world-wide resources for additional peace-keeping troops were becoming increasingly stretched. Full border control would require a capability to deny passage and to act where borders had already been crossed. It would also mean that UNPROFOR would supersede the national authorities in respect of certain border-control functions.

Border monitoring was another option identified by the Secretary-General. Observers would only observe and report on Bosnia and Herzegovina's borders, and would not be in a position to check the nature of goods coming into and out of the Republic. Even this more limited option would require substantial additional resources, and the necessary personnel and financing might not be available, he said.

The Secretary-General went on to point out that outstanding contributions to United Nations peace-keeping accounts totaled $1,260 million in mid-June 1993, while unpaid assessments amounted to $2,236 million. He said it was "highly probable that in the coming months the Organization will not be able to meet its day-to-day obligations".

On 7 July, the President of the Security Council addressed a letter to the Secretary-General informing him that the members of the Council had considered his report and continued to believe that international observers should be deployed on the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They invited the Secretary-General, bearing in mind the observations in his report, to contact Member States in order to establish whether they were ready, individually or through regional organizations or arrangements, to make qualified personnel available to act as observers along the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and to continue to explore all possibilities for implementation of the border monitors concept.

FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

As to UNPROFOR's activities in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on 13 July 1993. A Nordic battalion was deployed at Kjojila, east of Skopje, the capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and a United States contingent of 315 troops arrived in Skopje in early July, deploying to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia side of the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) on 20 August 1993. United Nations military observers, civilian police and civil affairs officers had also been deployed. UNPROFOR maintained close cooperation with the CSCE monitor mission and enjoyed an excellent cooperative relationship with the host Government. In his report, the Secretary-General concluded that the Force had so far been successful in its preventive mandate in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

MANDATE FURTHER EXTENDED

On 20 September 1993, the Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council renew the mandate of UNPROFOR for a period of six months (as is usual with most United Nations peace-keeping operations). In a report dealing primarily with Croatia, the Secretary-General said that he had been "sorely tempted" to recommend the withdrawal of the Force altogether because of the criticism of UNPROFOR by both sides and the dangers and abuse to which its personnel were exposed, but that such a step could only result in further conflict.

The Secretary-General pointed out that key parts of the original United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia had been difficult, if not impossible, to implement, and had become more so since the resumption of hostilities following the Croatian incursion of 22 January 1993. He stressed that the fundamental solution to the problem had to be sought through political dialogue, that the parties themselves had to seek such a solution and take steps towards reconciliation. In this process, the principal objective of UNPROFOR could only be to keep the peace, thereby permitting negotiations to take place on an overall political settlement. To enhance the security of the Force, he requested the extension of close air support to the territory of Croatia.

While recommending the extension of UNPROFOR's mandate, the Secretary-General suggested that the Council demand that the parties in Croatia conclude an immediate cease-fire and cooperate with UNPROFOR, which must be allowed to fulfil the peace-keeping aspects of its mandate. The Secretary-General intended to report to the Council by 30 November 1993 on the progress made by the Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and by UNPROFOR, and might at that time make further recommendations, on the basis of developments during the two months and on the course of negotiations undertaken between the parties.

The Secretary-General also stated that should UNPROFOR's mandate be extended, he would give "favourable consideration" to a suggestion by the President of Croatia that the Force be divided into three parts — UNPROFOR (Croatia), UNPROFOR (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and UNPROFOR (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) — while retaining its integrated military, logistical and administrative structure under the command of one Special Representative of the Secretary-General and one theatre Force Commander.

In the meantime, on 24 September, the Security Council was informed by the Croatian Government that if the mandate of UNPROFOR was not amended to promote energetic implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council, Croatia would be forced to request UNPROFOR to leave the country not later than 30 November 1993.

On 4 October 1993, after intensive consultations and two interim extensions of UNPROFOR's mandate — for a 24-hour period on 30 September, and for another four days on 1 October — the Security Council, by its resolution 871 (1993), extended the mandate of the Force for a period of six months, through 31 March 1994. The Council took this action under Chapter VII of the Charter reiterating its determination to ensure the security of UNPROFOR and its freedom of movement.

The Council reaffirmed the crucial importance of the full and prompt implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia and called upon the signatories of the plan and all others concerned in particular the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), to cooperate in its full implementation. Declaring that continued non-cooperation in the implementation of the relevant resolutions of the Council would have serious consequences, the Council affirmed that full normalization of the international community's position towards those concerned would take into account their actions in implementing those resolutions, including those relating to the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia.

The Council called for an immediate cease-fire agreement between the Croatian Government and the local Serb authorities in the UNPAs, mediated under the auspices of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. It urged all parties to cooperate with UNPROFOR in reaching and implementing an agreement on confidence-building measures, including the restoration of electricity, water and communications in all regions of Croatia. Stressing the importance of restoring Croatian authority in the "pink zones", the Council called for the revival of the Joint Commission established under the chairmanship of UNPROFOR.

In addition, the Council took note of the Secretary-General's intention to establish three subordinate commands within UNPROFOR — in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia — while retaining all other existing dispositions for the direction and conduct of the United Nations operation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The Council decided to continue to review urgently the extension of close air support to UNPROFOR in the territory of Croatia as recommended by the Secretary-General. It authorized UNPROFOR, in carrying out its mandate in Croatia, acting in self-defence, to take the necessary measures, including the use of force, to ensure its security and its freedom of movement.

It requested the Secretary-General to report within two months on progress towards the implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia and of all relevant Council resolutions, taking into account the position of the Croatian Government, as well as on the outcome of the International Conference negotiations. In light of that report, the Council would reconsider UNPROFOR's mandate.

MANDATE IN CROATIA UNCHANGED

As requested by Security Council resolution 871 (1993), the Secretary-General submitted his furthe report on 1 December 1993. He stated that variou initiatives were under way, with the cooperation of th two sides in the Croatian conflict, which could lead t implementation of the United Nations peace-keepin plan for the Republic. Therefore, he would not recon mend that the Council reconsider the mandate of UN

PROFOR in Croatia at that stage. However, he strongly urged the two sides to intensify their efforts for achieving a cease-fire agreement, for instituting practical measures of economic cooperation and for negotiating a lasting political settlement. He also appealed to them to extend their cooperation to UNPROFOR as it sought to improve conditions in the UNPAs.

The Secretary-General also reported that talks aimed at achieving a comprehensive cease-fire in and around the UNPAs in Croatia and initiating discussions on economic confidence-building steps were continuing within the framework of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

In a letter dated 17 December 1993, the President of the Security Council informed the Secretary-General that the members of the Council agreed with the observations contained in his 1 December report regarding the mandate of UNPROFOR in Croatia.

On 17 December 1993, Croat representatives and local Serb authorities in Croatia signed a Christmas Truce Agreement, mediated by UNPROFOR. The two parties undertook to cease all armed hostilities along all existing confrontation lines from midnight on 23 December until midnight on 15 January 1994. They also agreed to implement certain confidence-building measures, and to open negotiations as soon as the truce took effect on a "general and lasting" cease-fire, with the separation of forces on both sides. Subsequently, the truce was extended beyond 15 January and has generally held since then.

CEASE-FIRES IN BOSNIA NOT RESPECTED

In the meantime, the military and humanitarian situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina continued to worsen. On 9 November 1993, the Security Council, in a statement by its President, expressed deep concern at the reported deterioration of the situation in central Bosnia and Herzegovina where increased military activities posed a serious threat to the security of the civilian population. The Council was equally concerned at the overall humanitarian situation in that Republic and demanded again that all parties concerned guarantee unimpeded access for humanitarian assistance.

In a separate statement issued on the same day, the Council condemned all attacks and hostile acts against UNPROFOR by all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in Croatia, "which have become more frequent over the last weeks", and demanded that "they cease forthwith".

Although numerous cease-fire agreements were signed by the warring parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, practically none of them were implemented and the military situation remained grave. Notwithstanding the Joint Declarations on the delivery of humanitarian assistance, signed by the three sides at Geneva on 18 and 29 November 1993, the level of violence, the imposition of bureaucratic procedures hindering the transport of relief goods or the denial of clearance for the passage of UNHCR convoys reduced deliveries of humanitarian assistance to half the amount required. Furthermore, elements of all three sides deliberately fired upon relief convoys and United Nations personnel.

On 17 January 1994, the Security Council, in a Presidential statement, condemned any hostilities in United Nations-designated "safe areas", particularly the relentless bombardment of Sarajevo by Bosnian Serb forces, and demanded an immediate end to attacks against Sarajevo, which had resulted in a large number of civilian casualties, disrupted essential services, and aggravated an already severe humanitarian situation. The Council reaffirmed its commitment to implement all its relevant resolutions, in particular resolution 836 (1993), by which it had authorized UNPROFOR to use force to protect Sarajevo and five towns previously declared "safe areas" in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and expressed its readiness to consider further measures to ensure that all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina abided by their commitments.

Strongly deploring the deliberate obstruction of humanitarian relief convoys by any party, the Council reiterated its demand for unimpeded access for humanitarian relief assistance, and condemned attacks against personnel of the United Nations and of humanitarian organizations. It also deplored the failure of the parties to honour the cease-fire agreement, condemned the flagrant violations of international humanitarian law and held the perpetrators personally responsible.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNS CROATIAN INTERFERENCE IN BOSNIA

On 28 January 1994, in a letter to the President of the Security Council, the Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina reported that military formations of the regular armed forces of Croatia, supplemented by heavy artillery, armoured vehicles and other war materials, were involved in military actions on his country's territory.

At informal consultations on the same day, the Council asked UNPROFOR to submit an urgent report on the letter. On 1 February, the Secretary-General reported that the Croatian Army (HV) had been directly supporting the Bosnian Croat Army (HVO) with manpower, equipment and weapons for some time. The number of Croatian soldiers had apparently increased following successful offensives of Bosnian Government forces against the HVO. It was assessed that in total there were approximately 3,000 to 5,000 Croatian regular army personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Secretary-General emphasized, however, that this was an estimation, as it was impossible with UNPROFOR's assets to obtain required information for a more accurate account. The Secretary-General also reported on cross-border movement of military equipment.

In a Presidential statement issued on 3 February, the Security Council strongly condemned Croatia for deploying elements of its Army and heavy military equipment in the central and southern parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demanded that they be withdrawn. The Council stated that it would consider "other serious measures", if Croatia failed to put an immediate end to "all forms of interference" in that Republic. The Council requested the Secretary-General to monitor the situation and report within two weeks on progress towards complete and full withdrawal. The Council again condemned the acquisition of territory by force as well as the "practice of 'ethnic cleansing' by whomsoever committed", and reaffirmed the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Secretary-General informed the Council, in a letter dated 18 February 1994, that despite its demand for non-interference in Bosnia and Herzegovina, some 5,000 Croatian Army troops were still believed to remain in that country. Also, no action had been taken regarding the proposed establishment of a monitoring mechanism to verify troop withdrawals.

The Secretary-General also stated that, while no HV command posts nor any full HV brigades operating as formed units had been identified, it appeared that HV troops might be removing their insignia while in Bosnia and Herzegovina. UNPROFOR believed that HV insignia on a number of vehicles had also been erased or repainted. The Secretary-General stated that UNPROFOR would continue to monitor developments to the extent possible.

QUESTION OF AIR STRIKES ARISES

In a separate development, the Heads of State and Government participating in the summit meeting of NATO, held in Brussels on 10 and 11 January 1994, issued a Declaration, by which, *inter alia*, they deplored the continuing conflict in the former Yugoslavia. They expressed their continued belief that the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina must be settled at the negotiating table and not on the battlefield, and supported the efforts of the United Nations and the European Union to secure a negotiated settlement in that Republic. They were determined to "eliminate obstacles to the accomplishment of the UNPROFOR mandate" and called for the full implementation of Security Council resolutions regarding the reinforcement of UNPROFOR. They reaffirmed their readiness under the authority of the Security Council "to carry out air strikes in order to prevent the strangulation of Sarajevo, the safe areas and other threatened areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina". In this context, they urged UNPROFOR "to draw up urgently plans to ensure that the blocked rotation of the UNPROFOR contingent in Srebrenica can take place and to examine how the airport at Tuzla can be opened for humanitarian relief purposes".5/

On 12 January, the Secretary-General instructed his new Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, Mr. Yasushi Akashi,[6/] to undertake an urgent preparatory study of the proposal. In his report to the Secretary-General on 17 January, the Special Representative reaffirmed the urgent necessity of rotating the contingent in Srebrenica. As to Tuzla, it was concluded that the opening of the main airfield there would improve the flow of humanitarian supplies to the Tuzla safe area. In both cases, it was confirmed that the use of air power could make an important contribution if a military operation by UNPROFOR was needed for those purposes.

On 18 January, the Secretary-General sent a letter to the President of the Security Council, conveying those conclusions. He indicated, however, that in both cases the use of air power to attain proposed objectives would require military assets in excess of what was available to UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Secretary-General also stated that the new proposal to use air power implied that UNPROFOR could launch offensive action against Bosnian Serb elements which obstructed — or threatened to obstruct — its operations. UNPROFOR had previously been allowed to use air support only in defence of United Nations personnel.

The Secretary-General instructed Mr. Akashi, with the assistance of the UNPROFOR Force Commander, to prepare detailed plans for military operations, including the use of air power as required, to ensure the rotation of the contingent in Srebrenica and the opening of the main airfield at Tuzla in close coordination with NATO's Southern Command. The Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Mr. Marrack Goulding, was sent to Brussels to brief the Secretary General of NATO on the matter

On 28 January, the Secretary-General submitted a letter to the President of the Council, containing three scenarios envisaged under the plans prepared under Mr. Akashi's direction by the UNPROFOR Force Commander. In the first scenario, troops in Srebrenica and Zepa could be rotated and the Tuzla airport opened through negotiations and with the consent of the parties. In the second, if the parties did not consent, but were judged unlikely to use military force, existing UNPROFOR military assets would be used with the support, if necessary, of NATO air power. In the third scenario, if the parties resorted to military force, UNPROFOR would use available assets, reinforced with additional troops and equipment contributed by United Nations Member States, and supported, if necessary, by NATO air power.

The first two scenarios, the Secretary-General pointed out, represented "a measured step-by-step approach geared to the attitude of the parties", while the third scenario would imply "a different level of military action" and could not be implemented without Security Council authorization and the deployment of additional troops in the area.

The Secretary-General stated that he would not hesitate to initiate the use of close air support if UNPROFOR were attacked while implementing plans to rotate peace-keepers in Srebrenica and Zepa and to open Tuzla airport. At the same time, he distinguished between close air support involving the use of air power for self-defence, which had already been authorized by NATO, and air strikes for pre-emptive or punitive purposes. NATO forces were not authorized to launch the latter types of air strikes without a decision of the North Atlantic Council (NAC).

The Secretary-General said he hoped that the troops could be rotated and the airport opened in accordance with the first scenario, namely, by mutual agreement. However, he noted that UNPROFOR's mandate regarding safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina had been adopted under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, and the Force did not have to seek the consent of the parties for operations falling within its mandate.

The Secretary-General warned that "any resort to the second scenario, and *a fortiori* to the third scenario" would entail considerable risk for UNPROFOR's operations and for the troops involved in its implementation, as well as for the humanitarian assistance operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Nevertheless, he instructed the Special Representative to "pursue actively", in direct contact with the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs, the implementation of the two plans. In the specific circumstances of UNPROFOR operations in Srebrenica and Tuzla, the Secretary-General delegated to his Special Representative the authority to approve a request for close air support from the Force Commander.

In concluding his letter to the Council's President, the Secretary-General pointed to the fact that all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina were trying to take tactical advantage of UNPROFOR's presence and were increasingly questioning its impartiality. He believed that the time had come to reflect on the role of UNPROFOR, and he would undertake a comprehensive review of its functions and responsibilities prior to the Council's consideration of the renewal of the mandate in March 1994.

On 1 March 1994, the Bosnian Serbs, following talks with high-ranking officials of the Russian Federation in Moscow, agreed to open the Tuzla airport for humanitarian purposes. Deployment of UNPROFOR troops around the airport began in early March in preparation for an airlift that was expected to bring relief supplies to hundreds of thousands of people in the area. The first UNPROFOR flight landed in Tuzla on 22 March 1994.

The rotation of troops in Srebrenica, after protracted negotiations with the Bosnian Serb side, was completed on 10 March 1994, with the Dutch troops replacing the Canadian contingent.

AIR STRIKES AUTHORIZATION IS SOUGHT

Meanwhile, fighting in and around Sarajevo continued unabated, including lethal mortar attacks against civilian targets. On 5 February 1994, a 120-mm mortar round fired at the central market killed at least 58 civilians and wounded 142 others in the worst single incident of the 22-month war. This followed a similar attack on one of the suburbs of Sarajevo on 4 February 1994 in which 10 civilians were killed and 18 injured.

These acts were strongly condemned by the international community. The Secretary-General immediately instructed his Special Representative and the Force Commander of UNPROFOR to proceed to Sarajevo in order to supervise the investigation of the incidents and to prevent further atrocities.

After initial investigation, UNPROFOR established that the round fired on 4 February had come from a Bosnian Serb position, but it had not been possible to locate the source of the attack against the central market on 5 February.[7/] In a letter dated 6 February to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that those two incidents made it necessary, in accordance with resolution 836 (1993),[8/] to prepare urgently for the use of air strikes to deter further such attacks. The Secretary-General also informed the Council that he had requested the Secretary General of NATO to obtain "a decision by the North Atlantic Council to authorize the Commander-in-Chief of NATO's Southern Command to launch air strikes, at the request of the United Nations, against artillery or mortar positions in and around Sarajevo which are determined by UNPROFOR to be responsible for attacks against civilian targets in that city".

TEN-DAY DEADLINE IS SET

On 9 February, moving to end the strangulation of Sarajevo, the NAC issued a statement calling "for the withdrawal, or regrouping and placing under UNPROFOR control, within ten days, of heavy weapons (including tanks, artillery pieces, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, missiles and anti-aircraft weapons) of the Bosnian Serb forces located in the area within 20 kilometres (about 12.4 miles) of the centre of Sarajevo, and excluding the area within 2 kilometres (about 1.2 miles) of the centre of Pale".[9/] It also called upon the Muslim-led Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, within the same period, "to place the heavy weapons in its possession within the Sarajevo exclusion zone described above under UNPROFOR control, and to refrain from attacks launched from within the current confrontation lines in the city".

The NAC decided that, ten days from 2400 GMT 10 February 1994, heavy weapons of any of the parties found within the Sarajevo exclusion zone, unless controlled by UNPROFOR, would, along with their direct and essential military support facilities, be subject to NATO air strikes. The strikes would be conducted in close coordination with the United Nations Secretary-General. The NAC accepted the 6 February 1994 request of the United Nations Secretary-General and authorized the Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe, to launch air strikes, at the request of the United Nations, against artillery or mortar positions in or around Sarajevo, including any outside the exclusion zone, which were determined by UNPROFOR to be responsible for attacks against civilian targets in that city.

In a parallel development, a few hours prior to the announcement of the NATO decision of 9 February, a cease-fire agreement had been reached between the warring parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina regarding the area in and around Sarajevo. The agreement followed intensive discussions at the political and military levels brokered by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, the Force Commander of UNPROFOR and UNPROFOR's Sector Commander for Sarajevo. The agreement involved the positioning of UNPROFOR troops in sensitive areas, monitoring, and the placing of all heavy weapons under UNPROFOR's control.

PREPARATIONS FOR AIR STRIKES

Immediately following the decision by NATO, the United Nations Secretary-General instructed his Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia to finalize, with the Commander-in-Chief, Allied Forces Southern Europe, detailed procedures for the initiation and conduct of air strikes. He delegated to the Special Representative the authority to approve a request from the UNPROFOR Force Commander for close air support for the defence of United Nations personnel anywhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Secretary-General also instructed him and UNPROFOR military authorities to negotiate arrangements under which: (a) there would be an effective cease-fire in and around Sarajevo; (b) the heavy weapons of the Bosnian Serb forces would be withdrawn or regrouped and placed under UNPROFOR control; and (c) the heavy weapons of the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina would be placed under UNPROFOR control.

COUNCIL CONSIDERS SITUATION IN BOSNIA

On 10 February 1994, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation stated that NATO's call for the parties — both the Serbs and the Muslims — to place the heavy weapons deployed in the Sarajevo area under United Nations control or to withdraw them from the area was close to the Russian position. At the same time, however, the Russian Federation could not agree with the position of a number of NATO members which interpreted the NATO decision as "a one-sided ultimatum to the Bosnian Serbs, who are being threatened by air strikes". It requested an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council, open to all countries concerned, to consider practical ways to demilitarize Sarajevo and to introduce a United Nations administration there. A Security Council meeting to discuss the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was also requested by the Government of that country and Pakistan.

The Council met on 14-15 February 1994. Over the course of four meetings, it heard from a total of 58 speakers. Member States generally welcomed the decision by NATO and the steps taken by the Secretary-General to prepare for the use of force, adding that those actions had been fully authorized by existing Council resolutions. They emphasized that force was designed to underpin efforts by the United Nations and the European Union to achieve a negotiated settlement of the conflict, and that air strikes had to be carried out with caution and precision. Although the NATO ultimatum was widely supported, several Member States either opposed it or expressed concern that, as a result of air strikes, UNPROFOR might become a target for retaliatory measures. No Security Council resolution or statement was put forward during the meetings.

HEAVY WEAPONS WITHDRAWN

On 17 February 1994, following a meeting with Russian officials in Bosnia, the Bosnian Serbs agreed to withdraw within two days all their heavy weapons to the distance set by NATO. On 18 February, after discussions in Sarajevo with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic, and later in Zagreb with the Commander-in-Chief of NATO Southern Command, the Secretary-General's Special Representative reported that progress was being made towards achieving a durable cease-fire, disarmament and disengagement, with a clear-cut role for UNPROFOR.

There was agreement with the Bosnian Serb leader on having extensive and unhindered UNPROFOR patrolling within the weapons exclusion zone covering the 20-kilometre radius from the center of Sarajevo. Heavy weapons not withdrawn from the exclusion zone would be grouped and placed in seven different sites, under the control of armed UNPROFOR elements. An agreement had also been reached with regard to communications, with the full assurance that hot-lines would be established between UNPROFOR and the Bosnian Serb and Muslim sides.

On 20 February 1994, the Security Council met in informal consultations at the request of the Russian Federation, with the NATO deadline for withdrawal of heavy weapons scheduled for midnight that night. The Council was briefed by the Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Operations, Mr. Kofi Annan, who reported that according to the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia, the UNPROFOR Force Commander and NATO, Serbian compliance with the ultimatum had been effective. Certain weapons on both the Serb and Muslim sides, which had not been removed from the exclusion zone, would be monitored in place by UNPROFOR. As a result, the Council decided — in coordination with NATO — not to recommend that air strikes be carried out at that time.

The Under-Secretary-General also urged Member States to contribute additional troops with equipment to facilitate the monitoring of the weapons withdrawal and the cease-fire in and around Sarajevo. United Nations troops had been temporarily redeployed for that purpose from other parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and from Croatia, but they were still needed in those areas.

AGREEMENT ON CEASE-FIRE

In another positive development, military representatives of the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Croat sides signed, on 23 February 1994, a cease-fire agreement. Under this agreement, reached at a meeting hosted by UNPROFOR in Zagreb, Croatia, the two parties agreed to the immediate and total cessation of hostilities with effect from noon on Friday, 25 February 1994, a halt to all forms of propaganda against one another, and a fixing of lines of contact and positions as of the time of the cease-fire. UNPROFOR forces were to be positioned at key points; heavy weapons were to be withdrawn or put under UNPROFOR control, and a Joint Commission was to be established, with representatives of both sides and chaired by UNPROFOR.

RESOLUTION 900 (1994)

On 4 March 1994, the Security Council adopted its resolution 900 (1994). The Council called on all parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina to cooperate with UNPROFOR in the consolidation of the cease-fire in and around Sarajevo; to achieve complete freedom of movement for the civilian population and humanitarian goods to, from and within Sarajevo; and to help restore normal life to the city.

The Council requested the Secretary-General to appoint a senior civilian official to draw up an overall assessment and plan of action for the restoration of essential public services in the various opstinas of Sarajevo, other than the city of Pale; and invited him to establish a voluntary trust fund for that purpose.

The Council further requested the Secretary-General to present a report on the feasibility and modalities for the application of protection, defined in resolutions 824 (1993) and 836 (1993), to Maglaj, Mostar and Vitez, taking into account all developments both on the ground and in the negotiations between the parties.

INCREASE IN UNPROFOR STRENGTH REQUESTED

The Secretary-General submitted his report on 11 March 1994. He estimated that the implementation of resolution 900 (1994) would require an increase of the authorized strength of UNPROFOR by a total of 8,250 additional troops, 150 military observers and 275 civilian police monitors. Of these additional troops, 2,200 would be required for the operation in and around Sarajevo and 6,050 for operations in central Bosnia, including Mostar and Vitez. A further 1,500 troops would be needed if the Council were to extend the safe area concept to Maglaj.

The Secretary-General noted that recent developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina had created a new situation, which "should provide numerous opportunities for UNPROFOR to make substantial progress" in the implementation of its mandate. UNPROFOR's ability to achieve those objectives, however, was severely limited by the lack of military resources. If Member States did not provide the necessary personnel, its mandate would have to be modified. "It would be a tragedy for the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina if the present opportunity were lost for lack of resources," he concluded.

As to the restoration of the essential services in Sarajevo, the Secretary-General reported that on 1 March 1994, UNPROFOR had established an Interim Coordination Board to act as a temporary focal point for the various organizations operating in that city. The Board would prepare a comprehensive status report, which would provide the basis for the plan requested by Security Council resolution 900 (1994). The Secretary-General also stated that he would shortly announce the appointment of a senior civilian official, with the title of Special Coordinator, who would coordinate the initial efforts under the overall authority of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

On 21 March 1994, the Secretary-General established a voluntary trust fund for the restoration of essential public services in and around Sarajevo. On 30 March 1994, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. William L. Eagleton, a United States national, as the Special Coordinator for Sarajevo.

SECRETARY-GENERAL RECOMMENDS EXTENSION OF MANDATE

In a separate report submitted to the Security Council on 16 March 1994, the Secretary-General recommended the renewal of the Force's mandate for a further 12 months beyond 31 March 1994. The report contained the outcome of a thorough review of the role and functioning of the Force. The Secretary-General stated that the continuing conflict in UNPROFOR's area of operations since its mandate was last renewed had led to considerable, but unjustified, criticism of the effectiveness of the Force. Those, together with mounting threats to the safety and security of United Nations personnel, and the continuing failure of Member States to honour their financial obligations to UNPROFOR in full and on time, have led him to consider seriously whether the continuation of the Force constitutes a worthwhile use of the limited peace-keeping resources of the United Nations.

The diversity and scope of the problems in the former Yugoslavia, the Secretary-General continued, required the deployment of more military forces than troop-contributing nations appeared to be prepared, at that time, to make available. The encouraging developments around Sarajevo at the end of February 1994, however, provided reason for hope that an overall political settlement might at last be within reach. Since UNPROFOR's deployment embodied the will of the international community to help the parties to arrive at such a settlement, "I believe I must recommend its prolongation", said the Secretary-General. He added that, in turn, it was the responsibility of the parties to seize the opportunity provided by UNPROFOR's continuation to demonstrate by their conduct — on the ground and at the negotiating table — that they were seriously committed to pursuing the path of peace. "If they are, the United Nations stands ready, as always, to help them", he said.

REOPENING OF TUZLA AIRPORT

In yet another report submitted to the Security Council on 24 March 1994, the Secretary-General outlined his plans for reopening of Tuzla airport, under UNPROFOR's exclusive authority, for the delivery of humanitarian supplies and related purposes. It was estimated that approximately 800,000 people lived in the Tuzla region, 240,000 of them being refugees and displaced persons and another 200,000 being considered cases in need of assistance. Because of the fighting in central Bosnia, the region had been effectively cut off from normal commercial traffic for almost one year, which had made almost the entire population dependent on humanitarian assistance for its survival.

Tuzla airport would be opened for UNPROFOR and humanitarian use only, and restricted to UNPROFOR and humanitarian airlift coordinated by UNHCR. The Secretary-General stated that, in addition to the Nordic battalion already deployed at the airfield, operating the airport would require a number of support staff to carry out various communications, administrative, transportation, engineer and logistics support tasks. Apart from those functions, UNPROFOR identified a need for some 120 specialist personnel, 20 military observers and 20 United Nations civilian police monitors.

CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT IN CROATIA SIGNED

On 29 March 1994, in Zagreb, representatives of the Government of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in UNPAs concluded a cease-fire agreement aiming to achieve a lasting cessation of hostilities. The agreement was concluded in the presence of the representatives of the Russian Federation and of the United States, and witnessed by the representatives of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia and the Force Commander of UNPROFOR.

In his 30 March 1994 letter to the President of the Security Council, the Secretary-General reported that the implementation of this cease-fire agreement would involve, *inter alia*, the interpositioning of UNPROFOR forces in a zone of separation of varying width, the establishment of additional control points, observation posts and patrols, as well as the monitoring of the withdrawal of heavy weapons out of range of the contact line. In order to enable UNPROFOR to perform the functions called for in the agreement, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council increase the authorized strength of the Force by four mechanized infantry companies (one mechanized infantry battalion of 1,000 all ranks) and four engineer companies (600 all ranks). In addition, a helicopter squadron of at least six helicopters with 200 all ranks would be needed for effective monitoring of the cease-fire agreement.

UNPROFOR MANDATE EXTENDED

On 31 March 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 908 (1994), extended the mandate of UNPROFOR for an additional six-month period terminating on 30 September 1994 and decided, as an initial step, to increase the Force's strength by an additional 3,500 troops. It also decided to take action by 30 April 1994 at the latest on further troop requirements recommended by the Secretary-General in his reports of 11 March and of 16 March 1994 and his letter of 30 March 1994.

The Council approved UNPROFOR's plans for the reopening of Tuzla airport for humanitarian purposes and authorized additional resources recommended by the Secretary-General for that purpose. It called on Member States to contribute personnel, equipment and training in support of those activities.

By other terms of the resolution, the Council decided that Member States might take all necessary measures to extend close air support to the territory of Croatia in defence of UNPROFOR personnel in the performance of its mandate, under the authority of the Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR. It further authorized the Force to carry out tasks relating to the cease-fire entered into by the Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Bosnian Croat party.

The Council urged the Republic of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in the UNPAs to comply with the cease-fire agreement signed on 29 March 1994, and welcomed the efforts undertaken by UNPROFOR towards implementing this agreement.

The Council also welcomed the appointment of the Special Coordinator for Sarajevo and the establishment of a voluntary trust fund for the restoration of essential public services in and around that city.

By the same resolution, the Council demanded that the Bosnian Serb party cease all military operations against the town of Maglaj and requested the

Secretary-General to keep the situation there under review and to report to the Council as appropriate.

SITUATION IN GORAZDE

OFFENSIVE AGAINST SAFE AREA

At the end of March 1994, the Bosnian Serb forces launched an infantry and artillery offensive against the United Nations safe area of Gorazde. The indiscriminate shelling of the city and of the outlying villages led to the considerable casualties among the civilian population.

On 6 April 1994, the Security Council, in a statement by its President, strongly condemned the shelling and infantry and artillery attacks against the safe area of Gorazde, and demanded the immediate cessation of further attacks against the city. The Council called on all concerned to fully respect safe areas, in accordance with its resolution 824 (1993). It also welcomed measures being taken by UNPROFOR to strengthen its presence in Gorazde.

Despite the Council's demand and UNPROFOR's efforts to arrange for a cease-fire, attacks against Gorazde continued unabated. After United Nations military observers in the city were endangered by Serb shelling, UNPROFOR Command requested NATO to use close air support for self-defence of United Nations personnel. Consequently, on 10 and 11 April 1994, aircraft belonging to NATO bombed Bosnian Serbs positions.

Notwithstanding Bosnian Serbs' repeated commitments to a cease-fire, however, the heavy shelling of the city did not cease. On 18 April, after the situation in and around Gorazde became extremely dire, the Secretary-General asked NATO to authorize the use of air strikes, at the request of the United Nations, against artillery, mortar positions or tanks attacking civilians in Gorazde, as well as in four other safe areas, namely the towns of Tuzla, Zepa, Bihac and Srebrenica. In a letter to NATO Secretary-General, he noted that permission for such air strikes had already been given regarding Sarajevo and said that the tragic events in Gorazde demonstrated the need for NATO Council to take similar decisions on the other safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

NATO AUTHORIZES USE OF AIR STRIKES

On 22 April 1994, the NAC authorized the use of air strikes against Bosnian Serb military targets around Gorazde if the Bosnian Serbs did not end their attacks against the safe area immediately, pull their forces back three kilometres from the city centre by 0001 GMT on 24 April 1994, and allow United Nations forces and humanitarian relief convoys freedom of movement there. The NAC agreed that a "military exclusion zone" (within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina) be established for 20 kilometres around Gorazde, which called for all Bosnian Serb heavy weapons (including tanks, artillery pieces, mortars, multiple rocket launchers, missiles and anti-aircraft weapons) to be withdrawn by 0001 GMT on 27 April 1994. The NAC also agreed on similar arrangements for four other safe areas if they were attacked by heavy weapons from any range or if there was a concentration or movement of heavy weapons within a radius of 20 kilometres of these areas.

NATO reaffirmed its readiness to provide close air support should the Bosnian Serbs attack UNPROFOR or other United Nations personnel in Bosnia and Herzegovina, or forcibly interfere with the implementation of their mandate. It also called on the Bosnian Government not to undertake offensive action from within Gorazde.

SECURITY COUNCIL DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL OF SERB FORCES

On the same day, the Security Council, by its resolution 913 (1994), condemned the shelling and attacks by Bosnian Serb forces against the safe area of Gorazde and demanded the withdrawal of those forces and their weapons to a distance from which they would cease to threaten the safe area. It demanded the immediate conclusion of a cease-fire agreement in Gorazde and throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the auspices of UNPROFOR. The Council also demanded an end to any provocative action in and around the safe areas, the immediate release of all United Nations personnel held by Bosnian Serb Forces and unimpeded freedom of movement for UNPROFOR.Underlying the urgent need to intensify efforts towards an overall political settlement, the Council called for the intensification of close consultation between the United States and the Russian Federation and the United Nations and the European Union with the aim of bringing together diplomatic initiatives.

By other terms of the resolution, the Council also invited the Secretary-General to take necessary steps to ensure that UNPROFOR was able to monitor the situation in Gorazde and to ensure respect for any cease-fire and disengagement of military forces, including measures to put heavy weapons under United Nations control.

DEADLINE IS MET

Although the Bosnian Serbs had not yet fully complied when the 24 April deadline expired, the Force Commander of UNPROFOR decided against the immediate use of air strikes. UNPROFOR felt that significant progress was being made and that the Serbs would soon comply with the ultimatum. It addition, it was important to get United Nations troops and medical units into Gorazde as quickly as possible and the air strikes might have jeopardized that operation.

On 26 April 1994, the United Nations Secretary-General announced that Bosnian Serb forces had complied with the demand that they cease their attacks on Gorazde and pulled their forces and heavy weapons out of the 20-kilometre exclusion zone around the city. He noted that the United Nations had some 500 personnel in Gorazde, and was evacuating the most seriously wounded and bringing in relief supplies.

The Secretary-General stated that the Security Council, with the support of NATO, had taken a clear position that there must be no further threats to any of the safe areas, United Nations humanitarian efforts must continue unimpeded, and all sides must commit to a meaningful cease-fire and negotiate in good faith a political solution.

ADDITIONAL TROOPS ARE AUTHORIZED

On 27 April 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 914 (1994), authorized, as recommended by the Secretary-General, an increase in the strength of UNPROFOR of up to 6,550 additional troops, 150 military observers and 275 civilian police monitors, in addition to the reinforcement already approved in resolution 908 (1994).

HUMANITARIAN RELIEF IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

The United Nations has been providing humanitarian relief assistance to the refugees and displaced persons since the beginning of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. The United Nations relief effort is coordinated by UNHCR, which at the beginning of the emergency operation was designated as lead humanitarian agency for the former Yugoslavia. In December 1991, it was estimated that there were approximately 500,000 refugees, displaced persons and other victims of the conflict requiring assistance and protection. As the conflict intensified and extended to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the humanitarian problems increased dramatically with the growing number of refugees and displaced persons, widespread violations of basic human rights and international humanitarian law. Under such difficult circumstances, UNHCR, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Health Organization (WHO), the World Food Programme (WFP), other United Nations agencies concerned, ICRC as well as many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) continue to do their utmost to address the humanitarian needs of the conflict affected population.

The international community responded generously to appeals launched in December 1991 and May 1992 by UNHCR and on behalf of UNICEF and WHO. However, in view of the continued and alarming deterioration of the humanitarian situation, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it became evident that further assistance was required. Consequently, the International Meeting on Humanitarian Aid to the Victims of Conflict in the Former Yugoslavia, held on 29 July 1992 in Geneva, endorsed a seven-point humanitarian response plan proposed by the United Nations

High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Sadako Ogata. The elements of the plan were: respect for human rights and humanitarian law, preventive protection, humanitarian access to those in need, measures to meet special humanitarian needs, temporary protection measures, material assistance, and return and rehabilitation.

Following the International Meeting and a subsequent related meeting of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, an Inter-Agency Assessment Mission, coordinated by UNHCR with the assistance of the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs, visited the Republics of the former Yugoslavia from 9 to 16 August 1992, to reassess the emergency humanitarian requirements. According to the findings of the Mission, over 2.7 million people were directly affected by the crisis and were in need of emergency humanitarian assistance — particularly in the areas of food, shelter and health care. On the basis of those findings, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, in close collaboration with UNHCR, other concerned United Nations agencies and NGOs, formulated a Consolidated Inter-Agency Programme of Action and Appeal for the period September 1992 to March 1993. The overall requirements identified by the Assessment Mission amounted to over $1 billion. Subsequently, it was established that $434 million would be required for addressing life-threatening priority needs to be channelled through the United Nations system. The areas targeted for immediate relief were food, health services and shelter.

The Appeal by the Secretary-General was launched on 4 September 1992, simultaneously, through then Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Jan Eliasson, in New York, and through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mrs. Ogata, in Geneva. The Secretary-General said in the Appeal that one "particularly unconscionable" aspect of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia was the deliberate attempt to prevent much needed relief assistance from reaching the affected population.

After the launching of the Programme of Action and Appeal, the number of affected persons in need of humanitarian assistance increased significantly. On 11 March 1993, Mrs. Ogata reported to the Security Council that 3.8 million people were receiving assistance in the whole of the former Yugoslavia. In Bosnia and Herzegovina alone, some 2.28 million people, or half of the original population, were beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance from UNHCR, and the situation there was still deteriorating. Mrs. Ogata told Council members that UNHCR's biggest concern remained gaining humanitarian access to the victims, especially to those in the Government-held enclaves in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina where access had in many instances been denied altogether. She said the enormous suffering and devastation in the former Yugoslavia underscored the critical importance of an immediate cessation of hostilities.

On 17 March 1993, the United Nations issued a revised Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for the period from 1 April to 31 December 1993. The Appeal called for $840 million as new funding requirements in addition to the nearly $496 million already spent or committed by seven United Nations and associated agencies in the former Yugoslavia since the beginning of the emergency operation in November 1991.

On 25 March 1993, Mrs. Ogata, in her capacity as the Chairwoman of the Working Group on Humanitarian Issues of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, convened a high-level intergovernmental meeting in Geneva to discuss needs in the war-torn region. More than 55 nations and international organizations participated in the meeting.

The implementation of the international humanitarian assistance programme was further reviewed at a meeting of the Working Group on Humanitarian Issues held in Geneva on 16 July 1993. At a similar meeting held on 8 October 1993, a new Consolidated Appeal was launched, seeking some $696.5 million to cover the urgent humanitarian needs of almost 4.26 million affected people. This amount included revised winter requirements for the period October to December 1993 amounting to $173.9 million over and above the amount previously budgeted in the 17 March 1993 Appeal covering April to December 1993, and new requirements amounting to $522.6 million for humanitarian programmes for the period January to June 1994. Several States announced new contributions, at a time when international relief effort was threatened by insufficient funding.

Under the Appeal, the planned beneficiary population in the former Yugoslavia totalling 4,259,000 persons included some 2.74 million people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 800,000 in Croatia, 647,000 in Serbia and Montenegro, 27,000 in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and 45,000 in Slovenia.

The humanitarian operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina continued to be seriously obstructed. Access to populations in need was repeatedly denied or sabotaged for political or military purposes, especially by the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat sides. Moreover, all three sides frequently threatened the security of the personnel of UNPROFOR, UNHCR and other organizations. As a result, the international airlift to Sarajevo had to be interrupted several times for security reasons. Convoy operations were also suspended on a number of occasions.

In view of the deteriorating situation on the ground, and the prospect of still greater humanitarian disaster during the winter, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees met with the political leadership of the Bosnian parties on 18 November 1993 in Geneva. This meeting was held because on 25 October 1993, following the killing of a Danish UNHCR driver, the Secretary-General had decided to suspend all humanitarian convoys in central Bosnia. In a Joint Declaration the parties agreed to suspend fighting along the major supply routes to allow passage of international humanitarian convoys, in order to ensure complete and secure freedom of movement for the United Nations and international humanitarian organizations; to prevent diversion of humanitarian assistance to the military and to release all civilian detainees in accordance with the principles of and arrangements by ICRC. The parties also committed themselves to allow UNHCR and ICRC to determine the nature of humanitarian assistance, including priority winterization needs and all materials, supplies, gas and other fuel necessary for the survival of the civilian population.

On 19 November 1993, the Working Group on Humanitarian Issues held a meeting in Geneva with the donor community and other interested States, UNHCR, WFP, UNICEF, WHO, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and ICRC to review the state of preparations for the relief effort during the winter period. On 29 November, Mrs. Ogata, in her capacity as the Chairwoman of the Working Group on Humanitarian Issues, addressed a meeting convened by the European Union in Geneva, and attended by the Bosnian parties, at the end of which a Declaration was signed by the military leaders of those parties, reiterating the commitments of 18 November 1993.

Despite reports, following the November Joint Declarations, of some initial improvement in relief distribution in some areas, serious problems of access persisted: only 50 per cent of humanitarian assistance was getting through.

On 19 January 1994, the High Commissioner for Refugees expressed fears for the fate of tens of thousands of civilians in Bosnia and Herzegovina deprived of basic humanitarian assistance, despite repeated assurances by all Bosnian sides to let the aid through. In conveying her concern to the representatives of the warring parties attending the Geneva peace talks, she made particular mention of the civilian population in Maglaj, Tesanj, east Mostar, Gorazde and parts of central Bosnia.

In terms of food aid, WFP reported on 3 February 1994 that, although refugee needs in the former Yugoslavia were covered for the winter, there would be shortages in the spring, since only 67 per cent of the food requirements had been met until the end of June 1994, leaving a shortfall of 145,000 tons, valued at $86 million. For the whole of 1994, nearly 750,000 metric tons of food aid, valued at some $500 million, was required for the former Yugoslavia.

As to Bosnia and Herzegovina, WFP reported that despite low levels of deliveries to central Bosnia at the end of 1993, average monthly deliveries to that Republic had actually increased in the last six months of 1993, reflecting the international community's resolve to get aid through, despite the obstacles, as well as the increased availability of food aid in the latter part of 1993, and the increased amounts moved by airlift through the Sarajevo airport. The airlift has been providing most of the food needs of Sarajevo, and it has provided assistance to the besieged populations in Maglaj, Tesanj and Mostar. On 4 April 1994, UNHCR reported that the airlift to Sarajevo had surpassed the 100,000–metric–ton mark.

Since February 1993, humanitarian relief to certain inaccessible areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina has also been provided by means of airdrops — an operation initiated by the United States in collaboration with several other countries. The capacity of this operation undertaken by a number of countries has increased substantially with the addition of twelve American, three German and one French aircraft. Relief aid was expected to increase to more than 3,600 tons per month, compared to a monthly average of 1,000 tons for the last six months of 1993.

In February and March 1994, cease-fire arrangements in Sarajevo, in central Bosnia and around Mostar have alleviated suffering and deprivation and have brought considerable relief to the populations in these areas. In addition, political developments leading to accords on new constitutional arrangements for the Bosnian Muslim and the Bosnian Croat communities as well as an agreement on a proposed confederation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia have given a new impetus to the peace process and have facilitated access for humanitarian convoys through routes hitherto closed or very difficult to use.

An inter-agency assessment mission composed of representatives of humanitarian agencies participating in the relief operation in the former Yugoslavia visited the area between 18 and 25 March 1994. On the basis of the mission's findings, a revised United Nations inter-agency consolidated appeal will be issued jointly in May 1994 by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and by UNHCR.

The revised appeal —- the eighth United Nations appeal since the beginning of the crisis in former Yugoslavia — will cover humanitarian needs for the period 1 July until 31 December 1994. The appeal will address emergency needs for a revised beneficiary population of 4,121,500 persons with programmes amounting to approximately $500 million.

The United Nations humanitarian assistance operations have succeeded in alleviating suffering and in saving hundreds of thousands of lives. It is hoped that the limited and fragile gains made recently in Sarajevo and in central Bosnia will be consolidated and strengthened, further allowing for an early transition from emergency assistance to rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts for the benefit of people affected by conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of former Yugoslavia.

STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF UNPROFOR

UNPROFOR is headed by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia and includes military, civil affairs (including civilian police), public information and administrative components, with overall headquarters in Zagreb, Croatia. As of 30 April 1994, the strength of the military personnel actually deployed in theatre, led by the Force Commander, amounted to 33,891, including 593 United Nations military observers. There were also 664 civilian police, 1,075 international civilian staff (including 711 contractual personnel who are not members of the international civil service) and 1,574 local staff.

Four military officers have served as UNPROFOR Force Commander: Lieutenant-General Satish Nambiar (India), from March 1992 to March 1993; Lieutenant-General Lars-Eric Wahlgren (Sweden), from March 1993 to June 1993; Lieutenant-General Jean Cot (France), from June 1993 to March 1994; and, currently, General Bertrand de Sauville de La Presle (France) who took up his duties in mid-March 1994.

Following the adoption of Security Council resolution 871 (1993), the military structure of UNPROFOR has been reorganized under three subordinate commands: UNPROFOR Croatia, under Major General A. Tayyeb (Jordan), headquartered in Zagreb; UNPROFOR Bosnia and Herzegovina, under Lieutenant-General Sir Michael Rose (United Kingdom), headquartered in Kiseljak; and UNPROFOR former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, under Brigadier-General Tryggve Tellefsen (Norway), headquartered in Skopje. The three commanders report to the Force

Commander who, together with the civilian, logistical and administrative components, acts under the overall direction of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General.

As of 30 April 1994, military and civilian police personnel of UNPROFOR were provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Argentina	23	860	5
Bangladesh	47		29
Belgium		1,042	6
Brazil	10		23
Canada	45	1,947	14
Colombia	23		2
Czech Republic		911	24
Denmark	45	1,253	33
Egypt	10	429	12
Finland		277	7
France	41	6,875	12
Ghana			22
Indonesia			25
Ireland	20		8
Jordan	55	3,085	46
Kenya	49	930	47
Malaysia		1,492	20
Nepal	46	903	6
Netherlands	9	2,143	50
New Zealand			9
Nigeria	40		7
Norway	30	586	40
Pakistan			30
Poland	29	984	23
Portugal	44	7	11
Russian Federation	45	1,316	20
Slovak Republic		583	
Spain		1,357	14
Sweden	35	1,053	17
Switzerland	8	1	6
Tunisia	10		
Ukraine		1,021	
United Kingdom		3,443	18
United States		800	
Venezuela			7
TOTAL	664	33,298	593

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

During its two years of existence, UNPROFOR has incurred almost 940 casualties, including 87 fatalities.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF UNPROFOR

The rough annual cost of UNPROFOR to the United Nations is approximately $1.9 billion. The costs of the operation are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, contributions outstanding to the UNPROFOR Special Account amounted to approximately $686 million.

NOTES

1/ For more information on other aspects of the United Nations involvement, please see United Nations Department of Public Information Reference Paper "The United Nations and the Situation in the Former Yugoslavia", DPI/1312/Rev.2 – March 1994.

2/ A term which, for the purposes of this publication, is used to signify the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its Republics.

3/ A term which, throughout this publication, refers to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

4/ Since August 1992, the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia has provided a permanent negotiating forum for seeking a political solution to all the problems of the former Yugoslavia. The Conference has a Steering Committee, now co-chaired by Lord Owen, representing the European Union, and Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg, who in May 1993 replaced the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Mr. Cyrus Vance, and who also served, until December 1993, as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for the former Yugoslavia.

5/ Since early December 1993, UNPROFOR had faced Bosnian Serb opposition to the replacement of Canadian troops in Srebrenica and of Ukrainian troops in Zepa by elements of the incoming Netherlands battalion. As regards Tuzla, UNPROFOR had been engaged in efforts to open the airport for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the Tuzla safe area.

6/ Mr. Yasushi Akashi (Japan), who had served as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cambodia, succeeded on 3 January 1994 Mr. Thorvald Stoltenberg (Norway) as the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the former Yugoslavia and Chief of Mission of UNPROFOR. Mr. Stoltenberg continues his duties as Co-Chairman of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia.

7/ Following initial investigation of the incident, a team was established by UNPROFOR to conduct a comprehensive follow-up investigation. The team also reported the lack of physical evidence to determine which side — the forces of the Bosnian Government or the Bosnian Serbs — had fired the mortar bomb on 5 February 1993.

8/ In paragraph 9 of resolution 836 (1993), the Security Council authorized UNPROFOR, "... acting in self-defence, to take the necessary measures, including the use of force, in reply to bombardments against the safe areas by any of the parties ...". In paragraph 10 of the same resolution, the Council decided that "... Member States, acting nationally or through regional organizations or arrangements, may take, under the authority of the Security Council and subject to close coordination with the Secretary-General and UNPROFOR, all necessary measures, through the use of air power, in and around the safe areas in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to support UNPROFOR in the performance of its mandate ...".

9/ The city of Pale, to the east of Sarajevo, is the headquarters of the Bosnian Serbs.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

ONUMOZ

UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

LOCATION: Mozambique

HEADQUARTERS: Maputo

DURATION: December 1992 to present

CURRENT STRENGTH: 334 military observers, 5,153 troops and 273 police monitors

FATALITIES: 11 (as of 24 May 1994)

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Aldo Ajello (Italy)

FORCE COMMANDER: Major-General Mohammad Abdus Salam (Bangladesh)

BACKGROUND

On 4 October 1992, after 14 years of devastating civil war, Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mozambique, and Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, President of the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO), signed in Rome a General Peace Agreement establishing the principles and modalities for the achievement of peace in Mozambique. The Agreement called for United Nations participation in monitoring the implementation of the Agreement, in providing technical assistance for the general elections and in monitoring these elections.

Under the Agreement, negotiated with the help of a number of mediators and observers including United Nations representatives, a cease-fire was to come into effect not later than 15 October 1992, referred to as E-Day. The Agreement itself and its seven protocols called for the cease-fire to be followed rapidly by the separation of the two sides' forces and their concentration in certain assembly areas. Demobilization was to begin immediately thereafter of those troops who would not serve in the new Mozambican Defence Force (FADM). Demobilization would have to be completed six months after E-Day. Meanwhile, new political parties would be formed and preparations would be made for elections, scheduled to take place not later than 15 October 1993. A 16 July 1992 Declaration by the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO on guiding principles for humanitarian assistance, a Joint Declaration signed in Rome on 7 August 1992, as well as a Joint Communiqué of 10 July 1990 and an Agreement of 1 December 1990, form integral parts of the General Peace Agreement.

The United Nations was requested to undertake a major role in monitoring the implementation of the Agreement and was asked to perform specific functions in relation to the cease-fire, the elections and humanitarian assistance. The implementation of the Agreement was to be supervised by a Supervisory and Monitoring Commission chaired by the United Nations.

On 9 October 1992, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali submitted to the Security Council a report on the proposed United Nations role in Mozambique, in which he recommended an immediate plan of action and stated his intention, subject to the Council's approval, to appoint an interim Special Representative to oversee United Nations activities in that country.

On 13 October, the Security Council adopted resolution 782 (1992), by which it welcomed the signature of the General Peace Agreement between the Mozambican Government and RENAMO and approved the appointment by the Secretary-General of an interim Special Representative and the dispatch to Mozambique of a team of up to 25 military observers.

AGREEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE

On the same day, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Aldo Ajello as his interim Special Representative for Mozambique,[1/] and asked him to proceed to Mozambique to assist the parties in setting up the joint monitoring machinery, in finalizing the modalities and conditions for the military arrangements and in carrying out the various other actions that were required of them at the very beginning of the peace process.

The interim Special Representative and the team of 21 military observers, drawn from existing United Nations peace-keeping missions, arrived in Mozambique on 15 October 1992, the day the General Peace Agreement entered into force. On 20 October, two teams of military observers were also deployed to the provincial capitals of Nampula and Beira. Later, two additional outposts were established to verify the withdrawal of foreign troops from Mozambique,[2/] which is an important element of the General Peace Agreement.

Both Mozambican parties have committed themselves to undertake, immediately after, and in some instances before, the entry into effect of the Agreement, specific action to set in motion the joint mechanisms to monitor and verify its implementation. However, no such action had been initiated at the time when the interim Special Representative arrived in Mozambique. Upon arrival, he started extensive discussions with the parties concerned in an effort to ensure the early start of implementation of the Agreement.

Meanwhile, major violations of the cease-fire were reported in various areas of the country, and the parties presented official complaints to the interim Special Representative. He urged the two parties to refrain from any type of military operation and to discuss and settle all disputes through negotiations.

The Secretary-General reported on the situation to the President of the Security Council on 23 October. The President, in a statement dated 27 October, expressed the Council's deep concern about the reports of major violations of the cease-fire, called upon the parties to halt such violations immediately and urged them to cooperate fully with the interim Special Representative.

SETTING UP OF MONITORING MECHANISM

In an attempt to avoid further escalation of hostilities, the interim Special Representative called for an early informal meeting of the Government and RENAMO. The initiative was successful, and both parties sent high-level delegations to attend their first meeting in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. Thereafter, the two delegations met on numerous occasions, both bilaterally and together with the interim Special Representative. On 4 November 1992, the interim Special Representative appointed the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission (CSC). CSC was to guarantee the implementation of the Agreement, assume responsibility for authentic interpretation of it, settle any disputes that might arise between the parties and guide and coordinate the activities of the other Commissions. It is chaired by the United Nations and was initially composed of Government and RENAMO delegations, with representatives of Italy (the mediator State), France, Portugal, the United Kingdom, the United States (observer States at the Rome talks) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In December 1992, Germany also became a member of CSC.

CSC held its first meeting on 4 November 1992 and appointed the main subsidiary commissions: the Cease-fire Commission (CCF), the Commission for the Reintegration of Demobilized Military Personnel (CORE), as well as the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Forces (CCFADM).

ESTABLISHMENT OF ONUMOZ

On 3 December 1992, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his further report, in which he presented a detailed operational plan for the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ). Describing the difficulties of the operation, he referred to the size of the country, the devastated state of its infrastructure, the disruption of its economy by war and drought, the limited capacity of the Government to cope with the new tasks arising from the General Peace Agreement and the complexity of the processes envisaged in the Agreement. He also referred to the breadth of responsibilities entrusted to the United Nations under the Agreement.

The Secretary-General expressed his conviction that it would not be possible to create the conditions for successful elections in Mozambique unless the military situation had been brought fully under control and that the Agreement would not be implemented unless the Mozambican parties made a determined effort in good faith to honour their commitments.

In recommending to the Security Council the establishment and deployment of ONUMOZ, the Secretary-General stated that "in the light of recent experiences elsewhere, the recommendations in the present report may be thought to invite the international community to take a risk. I believe that the risk is worth taking; but I cannot disguise that it exists."

On 16 December 1992, the Security Council, by its resolution 797 (1992), approved the Secretary-General's report and decided to establish ONUMOZ until 31 October 1993. The Council endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation that the elections not take place until the military aspects of the General Peace Agreement had been fully implemented. It called upon the Mozambican Government and RENAMO to cooperate fully with the United Nations and to respect scrupulously the cease-fire and their obligations under the Agreement.

ONUMOZ'S MANDATE

In accordance with the General Peace Agreement, the mandate of ONUMOZ includes four important elements: political, military, electoral and humanitarian. In his 3 December 1992 report, the Secretary-General stressed that the operational concept of ONUMOZ was based on the strong interrelationship between these four components, requiring a fully integrated approach and coordination by the interim Special Representative. Without sufficient humanitarian aid, and especially food supplies, the security situation in the country might deteriorate and the demobilization process might stall. Without adequate military protection, the humanitarian aid would not reach its destination. Without sufficient progress in the political area, the confidence required for the disarmament and rehabilitation process would not exist. The electoral process, in turn, required prompt demobilization and formation of the new armed forces, without which the conditions would not exist for successful elections.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

The Office of the Special Representative would provide overall direction of United Nations activities in Mozambique and would be responsible for political guidance of the peace process, including facilitating the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, in particular by chairing the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission and its subsidiary joint commissions.

MILITARY ASPECTS

ONUMOZ would monitor and verify the cease-fire, the separation and concentration of forces of the two parties, their demobilization and the collection, storage and destruction of weapons; monitor and verify the complete withdrawal of foreign forces, and provide security in the four transport corridors; monitor and verify the disbanding of private and irregular armed groups; authorize security arrangements for vital infrastructures; and provide security for United Nations and other international activities in support of the peace process.

ONUMOZ's verification of the arrangements for the cease-fire and other military aspects of the peace process in Mozambique would be carried out mainly by teams of United Nations military observers at the 49 assembly areas in three military regions and elsewhere in the field. Teams would also be deployed at airports, ports and other critical areas, including RENAMO headquarters.

The military aspects of the United Nations operation in Mozambique would be closely linked with the humanitarian effort. The approximately 110,000 soldiers who come to the assembly areas would be disarmed, demobilized and reintegrated into civil society. They would need food and other support as soon as the assembly areas were established. An ONUMOZ technical unit, staffed by civilian personnel, would assist in implementing the demobilization programme and would collaborate closely with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (UNOHAC) on the programme's humanitarian aspects.

The General Peace Agreement provided for the withdrawal of foreign troops to be initiated following the entry into force of the cease-fire. Simultaneously, the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission, through the Cease-fire Commission, would assume immediate responsibility "for verifying and ensuring security of strategic and trading routes", of which the most important are the four transport corridors. ONUMOZ would have to assume transitional responsibility for the security of the corridors in order to protect humanitarian convoys using them, pending the formation of the new unified armed forces. Bearing this in mind, ONUMOZ infantry battalions would be deployed in the corridors.

While the Agreement does not provide a specific role for United Nations civilian police in monitoring the neutrality of the Mozambican police, the Secretary-General proposed to leave open the possibility of introducing a police component into ONUMOZ, should both Mozambican parties so request.

MONITORING OF ELECTORAL PROCESS

Under the terms of the Agreement, legislative and presidential elections would be held simultaneously one year after the date of signature of the Agreement. This period might be extended if warranted by the prevailing circumstances.

ONUMOZ's Electoral Division would monitor and verify all aspects and stages of the electoral process which would be organized by the National Elections Commission. The Division would provide overall direction and maintain contacts with the Government of Mozambique, RENAMO, the National Elections Commission and the main political parties.

In addition, the Secretary-General's Special Representative would coordinate technical assistance to the whole electoral process in Mozambique, which would be provided through the United Nations Development Programme, other existing mechanisms of the United Nations system and the bilateral channels.

HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS

The 1992 peace accord set out two objectives for international humanitarian assistance to Mozambique: to serve as an instrument of reconciliation, and to assist the return of people displaced by war and hunger, whether they had taken refuge in neighbouring countries or in provincial and district centres within Mozambique. ONUMOZ's humanitarian component — UNOHAC — would be established in Maputo, with suboffices at the regional and provincial levels. It would replace the office of the United Nations Special Coordinator for Emergency Relief Operations, which had been responsible for humanitarian assistance programmes in Mozambique. Headed by the Humanitarian Affairs Coordinator, and under the overall authority of the Special Representative, it would function as an integrated component of ONUMOZ. Operational agencies and the non-governmental aid community have been asked to provide representatives to work within UNOHAC.

UNOHAC would also make available food and other relief for distribution by a technical unit of ONUMOZ to the soldiers in the assembly areas. In order to achieve the successful reintegration of over 100,000 demobilized soldiers, UNOHAC proposed a three-pronged strategy centred on identification of training and employment opportunities, a vocational kits and credit scheme, and a counselling and referral service.

EARLY DIFFICULTIES

From the outset of ONUMOZ operations in Mozambique, various delays and difficulties of a political, administrative and logistical nature have seriously impeded the implementation of the General Peace Agreement. In his 2 April 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that although the cease-fire had largely held, many of the timetables established in the Agreement "proved to be unrealistic". Continuing deep mistrust resulted in reluctance to begin assembly and demobilization of troops, and contributed to the delay in the deployment of United Nations military observers.

Another complication was RENAMO's insistence that 65 per cent of ONUMOZ troops be deployed before the assembly process began. There were administrative delays in the deployment of ONUMOZ formed military units. A number of logistical and legal problems arose from the absence of a status-of-forces agreement with the Mozambican Government.

As to the elections, the Secretary-General stressed that the military situation in Mozambique must be fully under control for conditions to be created in which a successful election could take place. Having found it evident that the elections could not be held in October 1993 as originally scheduled, he indicated that he would continue discussions with the parties on new dates.

On 14 April, the Security Council, by adopting resolution 818 (1993), stressed its concern about delays and difficulties impeding the peace process in Mozambique, and strongly urged the country's Government and RENAMO to finalize the precise timetable for the full implementation of the provisions of the General Peace Agreement, including the separation, concentration and demobilization of forces, as well as for the elections. The Council also urged both sides to urgently comply with their commitments under the Agreement and to cooperate with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in the full and timely implementation of the mandate of ONUMOZ.

NEW TIMETABLE

In the following weeks, due to determined efforts undertaken by the United Nations, many of the difficulties were overcome and, by the beginning of May 1993, ONUMOZ was fully deployed and its military infrastructure established in all three operational regions.

On 30 June, the Secretary-General reported about this and a number of other positive developments which resulted in forward movement of the peace process in Mozambique. Those included the establishment of the voluntary trust fund to assist RENAMO, the resumption of the work of the Joint Commissions, massive international effort in the humanitarian field, with a sharp increase in the return of refugees and displaced persons. The withdrawal of Zimbabwean and Malawian troops, as provided for in the General Peace Agreement, was successfully completed. Also, a status-of-forces agreement was signed between the Government and the United Nations, which facilitated the entire range of work of ONUMOZ.

However, the establishment of the National Elections Commission and the Commission of State Administration was still pending, cantonment and demobilization of troops as well as the formation of the new army had not commenced. The Secretary-General stated that unless the major provisions of the General Peace Agreement were implemented, the future stability of the country would remain uncertain. There should be no further delay in finalizing a new and realistic timetable for the implementation of the Agreement. The cantonment and demobilization of troops should start soon and be completed early in 1994, and the training of a new Mozambican army should be initiated as soon as possible. To assist in that process, the Secretary-General was willing to grant the request that ONUMOZ, with the consent of the Security Council, assume chairmanship of the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force on the understanding that it would not entail any obligation on the part of the United Nations for training or establishing new armed forces.

The revised timetable, presented by the Secretary-General at that time, took as its point of departure the resumption of the work of the Joint Commissions beginning on 3 June 1993 and concluding 16 months later with the holding of elections in October 1994. The concentration and demobilization of Government and RENAMO troops, to be carried out in stages, was expected to take eight or nine months. The concentration of troops was scheduled to begin in September 1993 and would be followed a month later by the beginning of demobilization. It was expected that 50 per cent of the soldiers should have been demobilized by January 1994, and the demobilization of troops should be completed by May 1994.

Approximately 30,000 soldiers were to be absorbed into the new army and the rest were to return to civilian life. Half the new army was to be operational by May 1994 and formation of the new army was to be completed by September 1994. Home transportation of soldiers who would not be part of the new army was to start in October 1993, after demobilization began, and was to be concluded by April 1994 in order to enable the demobilized soldiers to register for the elections. Voter registration was expected to take three months and was scheduled to be carried out from April to June 1994. The repatriation of refugees and displaced persons was expected to be largely completed by April 1994 so that the resettled population might register in time for the elections.

The Secretary-General stated that although the general parameters of the new timetable were thoroughly discussed, he was still awaiting final agreement from both parties.

By adopting resolution 850 (1993) of 9 July, the Security Council welcomed the progress made in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement but expressed concern over continuing delays, particularly in the assembly and demobilization of forces, the formation of the new unified armed forces, and the finalizing of election arrangements. It approved the Secretary-General's recommendation that ONUMOZ should chair the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force. Further, the Council invited the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO to agree without delay to the revised timetable to implement the provisions of the General Peace Agreement based on the general parameters described by the Secretary-General.

TWO MAJOR AGREEMENTS SIGNED

In his progress report presented to the Security Council on 30 August 1993, the Secretary-General stated that the "recent developments in the Mozambican peace process have been encouraging". The most significant development was the "long overdue" start of direct talks between the President of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, and the President of RENAMO, Afonso Dhlakama. The talks began on 23 August in Maputo. The Secretary-General strongly urged the parties to turn their dialogue into an ongoing and action-oriented process aimed at bringing the peace process to a successful conclusion. As to the revised timetable, the Secretary-General indicated that although it had not yet been formally approved by the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission, important progress had been made in key areas. The Government explicitly agreed to the October 1994 deadline for the holding of the elections, while RENAMO also expressed its implicit agreement. The Secretary-General reported that he had instructed his Special Representative to follow as closely as possible the revised timetable for assembly and demobilization of forces and the formation of the unified armed forces.

On 10 September 1993, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that two major agreements had been signed between the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO on 3 September — the outcome of the first meeting between the President of Mozambique and the President of RENAMO after the signing of the General Peace Agreement in October 1992.

By the first agreement, the Government and RENAMO agreed to integrate into the state administration all areas that had been under RENAMO control. This agreement, the Secretary-General believed, would contribute to stability in the country and promote national reconciliation.

By the second agreement, concerning the impartiality of the national police, the parties agreed to request the United Nations to monitor all police activities in the country, public or private, to monitor the rights and liberties of citizens and to provide technical support to the Police Commission (COMPOL). The proposed United Nations police contingent would be responsible for verifying that all police activities in the country were consistent with the General Peace Agreement. The Secretary-General planned to send to Mozambique a small survey team of experts and, based on their findings, make recommendations concerning the size of the police component; while awaiting those recommendations, preparations would commence to deploy the 128 police observers already authorized by resolution 797 (1992) of 16 December 1992.

COUNCIL COMMENDS AGREEMENTS

On 13 September 1993, the Security Council, by resolution 863 (1993), strongly urged the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO "to apply, without further postponement" the revised timetable for implementing the General Peace Agreement, and encouraged the President of Mozambique and the President of RENAMO to continue their direct talks. Further, it urged RENAMO to join the Government in authorizing immediate assembly of forces, and urged both parties to begin demobilizing troops, in accordance with the revised timetable and without preconditions.

Deploring the lack of progress in the multiparty consultative conference, the Security Council urged RENAMO and other political parties to join with the Mozambican Government in quickly agreeing on an electoral law, which should include provision for an effective National Election Commission. The Council called on the Government and RENAMO to make operational, without further delay, the National Commission for Administration, the National Information Commission and the Police Affairs Commission. The Council requested the Secretary-General to examine expeditiously the proposal of the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO for United Nations monitoring of police activities in the country, and welcomed his intention to send a survey team of experts in that connection.

FURTHER PROGRESS REPORTED

In an attempt to break the stalemate in the peace process, the Secretary-General visited Mozambique from 17 to 20 October 1993. He met with President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama as well as with leaders of other political parties and representatives of the international community.

On 20 October, the Secretary-General announced a breakthrough in the peace process. Major agreements had been reached between the Government and RENAMO on, among other things, the assembly and demobilization of RENAMO and Government troops as well as the simultaneous disarmament of paramilitary forces, militia and irregular troops; the composition of the National Elections Commission and the system and timetable for finalizing the Electoral Law; and the creation of local National Police Affairs Commission subcommittees to monitor the activities of the Mozambican Police. Following these and other agreements, the revised timetable for the implementation of the Peace Agreement was approved by the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission on 22 October 1993.

On 29 October 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 879 (1993), decided to extend ONUMOZ's mandate for an interim period terminating on 5 November 1993, pending examination of the Secretary-General's report due under resolution 863 (1993).

The Secretary-General submitted his report on 1 November 1993. On 5 November, the Security Council, by resolution 882 (1993), decided, inter alia, to renew ONUMOZ's mandate for a period of six months, subject to a proviso that the Council would review the status of the mandate within 90 days based on the further report of the Secretary-General. The Council requested the Secretary-General to report by 31 January 1994 and every three months thereafter on whether the parties had made "sufficient and tangible progress" towards implementing the General Peace Agreement and meeting the timetable.

ONUMOZ ACTIVITIES

DEPLOYMENT OF THE MILITARY COMPONENT

ONUMOZ has carried out extensive operational activities throughout Mozambique. The security of corridors and main roads is being ensured by regular road and aerial patrol as well as by vehicle and train escorts provided by United Nations forces. They are also providing security to oil-pumping stations, airports, United Nations warehouses, ONUMOZ headquarters and to temporary and permanent arms depots. ONUMOZ is also contributing to humanitarian activities in the country by providing engineering and medical assistance.

The military observers have conducted inspections into allegations of cease-fire violations and assisted in the establishment and preparation of assembly areas. The observers have supervised the process of cantonment of troops since its inception.

ASSEMBLY AND DEMOBILIZATION OF TROOPS

Security Council resolution 882 (1993) urged the parties to commence assembly of troops in November 1993 and to initiate demobilization by January 1994 with a view to ensure the completion of the demobilization process by May 1994, in accordance with the timetable signed by the two parties in October 1993.

On 30 November 1993, following a series of lengthy negotiations, troop cantonment formally commenced. The initial 20 of the total 49 assembly areas were opened (12 for the Government and 8 for RENAMO), and the assembly of troops started. Fifteen additional assembly areas were opened on 20 December. During the initial stages of cantonment, government troops assembled in much larger numbers than RENAMO forces. This trend was reversed by mid-December 1993. Arms collection has started in most assembly areas.

There have been delays in the dismantling of government paramilitary forces and militia, which was scheduled to begin simultaneously with the assembly and demobilization of regular troops. After several attempts to set a deadline for the beginning of this process, the dismantling of the paramilitary groups troops was initiated on 12 January 1994.

CEASE-FIRE

Notifications of alleged cease-fire violations are being dealt with by the Cease-fire Commission with the active participation of ONUMOZ. On the whole, formally confirmed cease-fire violations have been relatively few and have presented no serious threat to the peace process. Basically, they fell into three categories: illegal detention of individuals, alleged movement of troops and occupation of new positions.

FORMATION OF MOZAMBICAN DEFENCE FORCE

On 22 July 1993, the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Force, under United Nations chairmanship, approved the Lisbon Declaration by which France, Portugal and the United Kingdom set out a programme aimed at assisting in the formation of the new unified army. The Commission decided to initiate the training of instructors for the new Mozambican army by sending 540 officers from the Government and RENAMO to a training facility at Nyanga (Zimbabwe). The training of the instructors was completed by 20 December 1993, and these officers were then transported by ONUMOZ to Mozambique on 12 January 1994. They would help in training infantry soldiers at the three Mozambican Defence Force training centres.

Meanwhile, the Joint Commission approved a total of 19 documents relating to the organization, operating procedures, uniforms, ranking symbols and training of the unified armed forces and other matters.

ELECTORAL PROCESS

On 26 March 1993, the Government of Mozambique prepared and distributed a draft electoral law to RENAMO and other political parties. A multiparty consultative conference to discuss this document was convened on 27 April 1993. However, RENAMO initially refused to attend the meeting on the grounds that it had not had sufficient time to study the text. Smaller parties did attend, but walked out after having presented a declaration demanding material and financial support and alleging that there had been insufficient time for them to analyse the draft.

Although the conference resumed its work on 2 August 1993, with the presence of all political parties, including RENAMO, it reached a deadlock over an article on the composition of the National Electoral Commission, meant to be the representative and impartial body responsible for organizing the parliamentary and presidential elections. This led to a breakdown of discussions.

The deadlock was broken during the Secretary-General's visit to Mozambique from 17 to 20 October

1993 when agreements were reached between the Government and RENAMO on the issues of composition and chairmanship of the National Electoral Commission. Subsequent discussions, however, reached an impasse over four other questions: (a) voting rights for expatriate Mozambicans; (b) composition of the provincial and district elections commissions; (c) composition of the Technical Secretariat for Electoral Administration; and (d) establishment and composition of an electoral tribunal.

On 26 November 1993, a consensus on those questions was finally reached after a number of meetings were held between President Chissano and Mr. Dhlakama in consultation with the Secretary-General's Special Representative.

Following these agreements, the Electoral Law was approved by the Mozambican National Assembly on 9 December 1993, nine days later than envisaged in the agreed timetable. It was promulgated by President Chissano shortly thereafter and entered into force on 12 January 1994. The members of the National Elections Commission were appointed on 21 January 1994.

HUMANITARIAN PROGRAMME

A major goal of the ONUMOZ humanitarian assistance programme is to respond effectively to the reintegration needs of all Mozambicans, particularly those returning to resettle in their original communities. It was projected that approximately 6 million Mozambicans would resettle during the next two years, including about 4.0 to 4.5 million internally displaced persons, 1.5 million refugees and 370,000 demobilized soldiers and their dependents. This situation has necessitated the programme's shift in emphasis from emergency humanitarian relief towards reintegration and rehabilitation.

Providing humanitarian assistance in the environment created by the General Peace Agreement promotes communication needed to solidify the peace. Humanitarian assistance committees convened by UNOHAC's Field Officers in the provinces are expanding contacts among all concerned parties. Support for the repatriation process, the demobilization of armed forces, emergency relief and the restoration of essential services, and mine clearance are the main components of the consolidated humanitarian assistance programme for 1993-1994. The implementation of this programme requires some $610 million for the twelve-month period May 1993 — April 1994. About $560 million has been committed by donors to date.

Approximately 40 per cent of Mozambique's 1.5 million refugees have already returned. Over half of the 4.0 to 4.5 million people displaced internally by war and drought have also moved back to their home areas. Although mine clearance programmes have been slow to reach the implementation stage, major hurdles have been overcome and a National Mine Clearance Plan is coordinating efforts to clear 4,000 km of roads in the initial phase, develop mine awareness programmes, and train 1,500 Mozambican nationals in mine clearance and related techniques.

With the demobilization process well under way, UNOHAC has been focusing particular attention on its programme for the reintegration of former combatants into civilian life. Through informal tripartite discussions within the Commission for Reintegration, it has been able to secure agreement on a three-pronged strategy to address the needs of ex-soldiers.

SERIOUS PROBLEMS REMAIN

In his report to the Security Council dated 28 January 1994, the Secretary-General noted that despite significant progress made in the implementation of the General Peace Agreement, several serious problems still remained to be resolved. These included the opening of the 14 remaining assembly sites, initiation and subsequent completion of the actual demobilization, transfer of weapons from assembly areas to regional warehouses, dismantling of the paramilitary forces, provision of financial support for the transformation of RENAMO from a military movement into a political party, and formation of a well-functioning national defence force.

The Secretary-General stated that it was the Mozambicans themselves who bore the main responsibility for success in the implementation of the peace agreement. It was imperative that the two parties honour their commitments and cooperate closely with the United Nations in overcoming existing obstacles.

LARGE POLICE COMPONENT AUTHORIZED

In his 28 January 1994 report, the Secretary-General also stated that recent political developments in Mozambique had evolved in such a way as to allow an increasing shift of focus from monitoring cease-fire arrangements to general verification of police activities in the country and the respect of civil rights.

Therefore, the Secretary-General, in an addendum to his 28 January report to the Security Council, recommended the establishment of a 1,114-strong civilian police component — inclusive of the 128 already authorized by the Council. Being aware of the additional costs associated with the establishment of a sizeable United Nations police presence in the country, he intended, following the expected completion of the demobilization of troops in May 1994, to begin a gradual cut-back of the Mission's military elements.

The ONUMOZ civilian police component (CIVPOL) would be mandated to monitor all police activities in the country and verify that their actions were consistent with the General Peace Agreement; monitor respect of citizens' rights and civil liberties; provide technical support to the National Police Commission; verify that the activities of private protection and security agencies did not violate the General Peace Agreement; verify the strength and location of the government police forces and their *matériel*; and monitor and verify the process of reorganization and retraining of the quick reaction police, including its activities, weapons and equipment. In addition, CIVPOL, together with other ONUMOZ components, would monitor the proper conduct of the electoral campaign and verify that political rights of individuals, groups and political organizations were respected.

CIVPOL would be a separate component of ONUMOZ under the command of a Chief Police Observer, who would report directly to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It would also work closely with the existing electoral, military, humanitarian and administrative components of ONUMOZ. Appropriate liaison arrangements would be established with the national police at all levels, and CIVPOL would establish itself at all strategic locations throughout the country. It would have unrestricted access to the general public, conduct all its own investigations and, when necessary, recommend corrective action.

The Secretary-General recommended that CIVPOL be deployed progressively. The initial phase, during which the central headquarters and regional and provincial capitals teams would be fully established, was to be completed by mid-March 1994. The second phase would coincide with the voter registration process from April to June, during which up to 70 per cent of CIVPOL posts and stations throughout the countryside would become operational. The remainder of the component would be deployed by no later than one month before the beginning of the electoral campaign, which was scheduled to begin on 1 September 1994.

On 23 February 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 898 (1994), authorized the establishment of the police component, as recommended by the Secretary-General. At the same time, concerned with cost implications, it requested him to prepare immediately specific proposals for the drawdown of military personnel so as to ensure that there be no increase in the operation's costs. He was also requested to prepare a timetable for the completion of the ONUMOZ mandate, including withdrawal of its personnel by the end of November 1994 when the elected government should assume office.

Expressing concern at the continuing delays in the implementation of major aspects of the General Peace Agreement, the Council called upon both parties to comply fully with all the provisions of the Agreement, in particular those concerning the cease-fire and the cantonment and demobilization of troops, as well as with the decisions of the Monitoring and Supervision Commission. It reiterated the vital importance of holding the general elections no later than October 1994 and urged parties to agree promptly on a specific election date.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

In the course of March and April 1994, a number of important developments took place in Mozambique. During that period, there were no military activities in the country that posed a serious threat to the ceasefire or to the peace process as a whole. With the beginning of the demobilization on 10 March, the implementation of the General Peace Agreement entered into another critical phase. The total planned number of 49 assembly areas were open and operational by 21 February. By mid-April, 55 per cent of Government and 81 per cent of RENAMO soldiers were cantoned. As of 18 April, a total of 12,756 troops (12,195 Government and 561 RENAMO) were demobilized and transported to the districts of their choice. This corresponded to 20 per cent of Government and 3 per cent of RENAMO soldiers. The training programme for the new Mozambican Armed Forces (FADM), inaugurated in March, has provided training for some 2,000 soldiers. The leaders of FADM, Generals Lagos Lidimo of the Government and Mateus Ngonhamo of RENAMO, were sworn into office on 6 April as joint commanders of the new army.

On 11 April, the President of Mozambique announced that the general elections would take place on 27 and 28 October 1994. The National Elections Commission had been inaugurated in February 1994, and its 10 provincial offices established by the end of March. The Technical Secretariat for Elections Administration had initiated its activities on 11 February. The Government decree that officially established the Secretariat was promulgated on 13 April.

As of 18 April, 278 members of the ONUMOZ police component, authorized by Security Council resolution 898 (1994) of 23 February, had already arrived in Mozambique and had been deployed throughout the country.

Considerable progress has been made in resettling internally displaced persons and Mozambican refugees returning from neighbouring countries. The United Nations, in collaboration with other organizations concerned and bilateral donors, is pursuing ongoing programmes to assist the remaining 1 million internally displaced persons and 800,000 refugees to be resettled.

However, in his 28 April 1994 progress report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General stated that in spite of those positive developments, some serious difficulties continued to hinder the timely completion of the peace process. Especially worrying were the delays in the assembly of Government troops, the demobilization of RENAMO troops and the training of FADM. In addition, the National Elections Commission might face potential practical difficulties in the complex process of voter registration. A number of problems also persisted in the areas of logistics, finance, the identification of party representatives and free access by the political parties to all districts of Mozambique.

At the same time, the Secretary-General believed that the "major political conditions for the timely completion of this Mission are in place". Having said that ONUMOZ continued to play a vital role in the peace process, he recommended to the Security Council that it extend the existing mandate of ONUMOZ until 31 October 1994. He expected that liquidation of the Mission would be completed by 31 January 1995.

The Secretary-General was making every effort to ensure that the deployment of the civilian police component would not entail an overall increase in the costs of the Mission. As requested by Security Council resolution 898 (1994) of 23 February, he outlined his plans for the reduction of the military elements of ONUMOZ. Some redeployment of the military units was also recommended.[3/]

COMPOSITION OF ONUMOZ

The original authorized strength of ONUMOZ was between 7,000 and 8,000 military and civilian personnel. On 23 February 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 898 (1994), authorized the establishment of a 1,114-strong civilian police component. The reduction of the military component of ONUMOZ, amounting to some 2,000 troops of all ranks, began in April and was expected to be completed in July 1994.

As of 30 April 1994, the military component totalled 334 military observers and 5,153 infantry and support personnel. There were also 273 police monitors. These personnel were provided by the following States:

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Argentina		40	8
Australia	16		
Bangladesh	25	1,208	30
Botswana		755	13
Brazil	36		27
Canada			15
Cape Verde			18
China			10
Czech Republic			19
Egypt	21		20
Guinea Bissau	25		37
Hungary	10		23
India		910	
Ireland	20		
Italy		222	
Japan		53	
Jordan	45		
Malaysia	35		24
Netherlands		11	
New Zealand		2	
Norway	8		
Portugal	7	277	1
Russian Federation			19
Spain	14		21
Sweden	10		19
Switzerland	1		
United States		5	
Uruguay		835	22
Zambia		835	8
TOTAL	273	5,153	334

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

The Office of the Special Representative is comprised of a small number of international professional and support staff as well as an adequate number of locally recruited personnel.

The ONUMOZ Electoral Division is to include up to 148 international electoral officers. During the polling itself, the Division will require the services of some 1,000 international observers and necessary local staff. The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance has a small number of international professional staff to coordinate and monitor all humanitarian assistance in Mozambique; it is assisted by an ONUMOZ technical unit in the humanitarian aspects of the demobilization process.

In addition, international professional and support staff and an adequate number of local staff are required to provide secretariat functions and administrative support to the military, electoral and humanitarian components of ONUMOZ, as well as to the Commissions chaired by the United Nations.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The annual cost of ONUMOZ to the United Nations is approximately $327 million. The costs of the operation are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, contributions outstanding to the ONUMOZ Special Account amounted to approximately $118 million.

NOTES

[1/] Subsequently, in March 1993, Mr. Aldo Ajello was appointed Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Mozambique.

[2/] As the civil war intensified, Malawi and Zimbabwe, with the agreement of the Government of Mozambique, deployed troops in the transport corridors to assist the Government's forces in keeping them open. These corridors, which run across Mozambique from the Indian Ocean to land-locked countries to the north and west, are of critical importance for southern Africa.

[3/] On 5 May 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 916 (1994), renewed the mandate of ONUMOZ at a reduced strength for a final period until 15 November 1994, subject to review by 15 July and 5 September.

PS/DPI/20/Rev.2 – May 1994

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN SOMALIA II

LOCATION: Somalia

HEADQUARTERS: Mogadishu

DURATION: April 1992 to present

STRENGTH: Approximately 20,000 military and civilian personnel

FATALITIES: 113 (as of 24 May 1994)

ACTING SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: Ambassador Lansana Kouyate (Guinea)[1]

FORCE COMMANDER: Lieutenant-General Aboo Samah Bin Aboo Bakar (Malaysia)

BACKGROUND

The downfall of President Siad Barre in January 1991 resulted in a power struggle and clan clashes in many parts of Somalia. In November, the most intense fighting since January broke out in the capital, Mogadishu, between two factions — one supporting Interim President Ali Mahdi Mohamed and the other supporting the Chairman of the United Somali Congress, General Mohamed Farah Aidid. Since then, fighting persisted in Mogadishu and spread throughout Somalia, with heavily armed elements controlling various parts of the country. Some declared alliance with one or the other of the two factions, while others did not. Numerous marauding groups of bandits added to the problem.

The hostilities resulted in widespread death and destruction, forcing hundreds of thousands of civilians to flee their homes and causing a dire need for emergency humanitarian assistance. Almost 4.5 million people in Somalia — over half of the estimated population — were threatened by severe malnutrition and malnutrition-related disease, with the most affected living in the countryside. It was estimated that perhaps 300,000 people died since November 1991, and at least 1.5 million lives were at immediate risk. Almost one million Somalis have sought refuge in neighbouring countries and elsewhere.

The political chaos, deteriorating security situation, widespread banditry and looting, and extent of physical destruction compounded the problem and severely constrained the delivery of humanitarian supplies. Furthermore, the conflict threatened stability in the Horn of Africa region, and its continuation occasioned threats to international peace and security in the area.

EARLY UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS

Despite the turmoil that ensued after the overthrow of President Siad Barre, the United Nations continued its humanitarian efforts in Somalia and, by March 1991, was fully engaged in that country. Over the following months, the volatile security situation forced the United Nations on several occasions to temporarily withdraw its personnel from Somalia, but it continued its humanitarian activities to the fullest extent possible, in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

The deteriorating and appalling situation in Somalia led the United Nations Secretary-General, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the League of Arab States (LAS) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), to become actively involved with the political aspects of the crisis and to press for a peaceful solution to the conflict.

On 27 December 1991, then Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar informed the President of the Security Council that he intended to take an initiative in an attempt to restore peace in Somalia. Accordingly, after consulting incoming Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, he asked then Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs James O.C. Jonah to visit the area.

In early January 1992, despite continued fighting in Mogadishu, Mr. Jonah led a team of senior United Nations officials into Somalia for talks aimed at bringing about a cessation of hostilities and securing access by the international relief community to civilians caught in the conflict. During that visit, support for a cease-fire in Mogadishu was expressed by all faction leaders, except General Aidid. Unanimous support was expressed, however, for a United Nations role in bringing about national reconciliation.

The results of the visit were reported to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who then consulted with the members of the Security Council on the appropriate course of action. On 23 January, by its resolution 733 (1992), the Security Council urged all parties to the conflict to cease hostilities, and decided that all States should immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Somalia. The Council requested the Secretary-General to increase humanitarian assistance to the affected population and to contact all parties involved in the conflict to seek their commitment to the cessation of hostilities, to promote a cease-fire and to assist in the process of a political settlement of the conflict.

On 31 January, the Secretary-General invited LAS, OAU and OIC, as well as Interim President Ali Mahdi and General Aidid, to send their representatives to participate in consultations at United Nations Headquarters from 12 to 14 February. The talks succeeded in getting the two factions in Mogadishu to agree to an immediate cessation of hostilities and the maintenance of the cease-fire, and to a visit to Mogadishu by a joint high-level delegation composed of representatives of the United Nations and the three regional organizations to conclude a cease-fire agreement.

The joint delegation arrived in Mogadishu on 29 February 1992. On 3 March, after four days of intensive negotiations, Interim President Ali Mahdi and General Aidid signed an "Agreement on the Implementation of a Cease-fire". This Agreement also included the acceptance of a United Nations security component for convoys of humanitarian assistance, and the deployment of 20 military observers on each side of Mogadishu to monitor the cease-fire. At the same time, the joint delegation undertook consultations regarding a national reconciliation conference to which all Somali groups would be invited.

On 17 March, the Security Council adopted its resolution 746 (1992), supporting the Secretary-General's decision to dispatch to Somalia a technical team to prepare a plan for a cease-fire monitoring mechanism. The Council also requested that the team develop a high-priority plan to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The team visited Somalia from 23 March to 1 April. Following discussions with the team, Interim President Ali Mahdi and General Aidid signed on 28 and 27 March 1992, respectively, Letters of Agreement on the mechanisms for monitoring the cease-fire and on arrangements for equitable and effective distribution of humanitarian assistance.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNOSOM

On 24 April 1992, in response to a recommendation of the Secretary-General, the Security Council adopted resolution 751 (1992), by which it decided to establish a United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM). The Council also asked the Secretary-General, in cooperation with LAS, OAU and OIC, to pursue consultations with all Somali parties towards convening a conference on national reconciliation and unity. It also called on the international community for financial and other support for the Secretary-General's 90-day Plan of Action for Emergency Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia.

The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's intention to appoint a Special Representative for Somalia to provide overall direction of United Nations activities in that country. Mr. Mohammed Sahnoun of Algeria was appointed Special Representative on 28 April 1992 and left for the area on 1 May.

ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

In accordance with the agreements reached with the two main Somali factions in Mogadishu, the cease-fire in the capital was to be monitored by a group of 50 unarmed uniformed United Nations military observers. As regards humanitarian assistance, the security personnel envisaged in the agreements was to provide protection and security for United Nations personnel, equipment and supplies at the seaports and airports in Mogadishu and escort deliveries of humanitarian supplies from there to distribution centres in the city and its immediate environs.

In its resolution 751 (1992), the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to deploy immediately 50 observers to monitor the cease-fire in Mogadishu. It also agreed, in principle, to establish a security force to be deployed as soon as possible, and requested the Secretary-General to continue his consultations with the parties in Mogadishu in this regard.

On 23 June, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that both principal factions in Mogadishu had agreed to the immediate deployment of the unarmed observers. The observers would be drawn from Austria, Bangladesh, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Fiji, Finland, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco and Zimbabwe. The Chief Military Observer, Brigadier-General Imtiaz Shaheen of Pakistan, and the advance party of UNOSOM observers arrived in Mogadishu in early July 1992. On 12 August, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that, after considerable delays and difficulties, agreement had been reached with the principal faction leaders in Mogadishu to deploy 500 United Nations security personnel in the capital as part of UNOSOM. The Government of Pakistan had agreed to contribute a unit for the purpose. The first group of security personnel arrived in Mogadishu on 14 September 1992.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

Between 4 May and 19 July 1992, the Secretary-General's Special Representative undertook extensive consultations with various Somali leaders and Elders and other personalities throughout the country. On 22 July, the Secretary-General reported to the Council on the complex political and security situation in Somalia, as well as the desperate situation the country faced in terms of needs for humanitarian assistance, recovery programmes and institution-building. The Secretary-General concluded that the United Nations must "adapt" its involvement in Somalia and that its efforts needed to be enlarged in order to bring about an effective cease-fire throughout the country, while at the same time promoting national reconciliation.

On 27 July, the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's report and urged all parties, movements and factions in Somalia to facilitate United Nations efforts to provide urgent humanitarian assistance to the affected population. The Council strongly supported the Secretary-General's decision to dispatch another technical team to Somalia.

ENLARGEMENT OF UNOSOM

Following the technical team's visit to Somalia from 6 to 15 August 1992, the Secretary-General submitted his further report, dated 24 August, to the Security Council, in which he described a number of urgent steps, being planned or already taken, to mitigate the widespread starvation in the areas of Somalia most seriously affected by the civil war and drought and to prevent the incidence of hunger escalating in other parts of the country. Noting that the United Nations and its partners were ready and had the capacity to provide substantially increased assistance, the Secretary-General stated that they were prevented from doing so by the lawlessness and lack of security prevailing throughout Somalia. Looting, by heavily armed gangs, of supplies from delivery and distribution points, as well as attacks on incoming and docked ships and on airports and airstrips, prevented the assured delivery of humanitarian assistance by overland transport.

Given the difficulties, the Secretary-General concluded that the airlift operations — already being carried out by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), as well as by ICRC — needed to be enhanced substantially, with priority given to central and southern Somalia. In addition, a "preventive zone" on the Kenya-Somali border should be established for special deliveries of food and seed, in an attempt to reduce famine-induced population movements.

The Secretary-General recommended the deployment of four additional United Nations security units, each with a strength of up to 750, to protect the humanitarian convoys and distribution centres throughout Somalia. Also, in accordance with his earlier proposal, the Secretary-General recommended the establishment of four zone headquarters of UNOSOM. Each would be headed by a civilian official who would assist the Secretary-General's Special Representative in all aspects of his duties.

On 28 August, the Security Council, by its resolution 775 (1992), approved the Secretary-General's report and authorized the increase in strength of UNOSOM. The Council requested the Secretary-General to continue, in close cooperation with LAS, OAU and OIC, his efforts to seek a comprehensive solution to the crisis in Somalia.

On 8 September, the Security Council also approved the Secretary-General's plan to deploy three logistic units totalling up to 719 personnel to support the enhanced UNOSOM operation. Consequently, the total strength of UNOSOM was to be 4,219 all ranks, including the unit of 500 authorized in Mogadishu and 719 for logistic units.

100-DAY ACTION PROGRAMME

There have been six main United Nations organizations at work in Somalia coordinating overall humanitarian efforts: the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UNICEF, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), WFP and the World Health Organization (WHO). In addition, more than 30 NGOs were working in Somalia as "implementing partners" of the United Nations. Moreover, ICRC has continued to provide assistance under the most difficult of situations. There are also many local NGOs that work with the United Nations and the international NGOs.

Between 10 and 12 September 1992, as part of the overall effort to accelerate humanitarian relief activities, the then United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Mr. Jan Eliasson, led a high-level inter-agency mission to Somalia. A major outcome of the mission was the decision to develop a 100-Day Action Programme for Accelerated Humanitarian Assistance, for the period until the end of 1992. The 100-Day Programme was reviewed at the First Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, held in Geneva on 12 and 13 October 1992 under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Somalia.

The Programme sought to highlight priority actions which were needed to prevent famine and the unacceptably high levels of death and deprivation in Somalia. The emphasis was placed on those areas and populations of the country needing priority attention. The Programme also identified the additional resources required to meet its eight main objectives: massive infusion of food aid; aggressive expansion of supplementary feeding; provision of basic health services and mass measles immunization campaign; urgent provision of clean water, sanitation and hygiene; provision of shelter materials, including blankets and clothes; simultaneous delivery of seeds, tools and animal vaccines with food rations; prevention of further refugee outflows and promoting returnee programmes; building institutions and civil society rehabilitation and recovery. Donor response to the Programme was generally prompt and generous. Of the $82.7 million requested for the implementation of the Programme, $67.3 million was received.

From 3 to 5 December 1992, the Secretary-General convened the Second Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, at the Conference Centre of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The Meeting was attended by representatives of donor countries and other Governments, Somali political and community leaders, and Somali NGOs, as well as regional and subregional organizations, United Nations agencies and international NGOs. The Meeting provided an opportunity to review the progress achieved in the implementation of the 100-Day Action Programme, the obstacles encountered and the work that remained to be done. The discussion also went beyond the scope of the Action Programme to address further relief activities, as well as the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Somalia. One of the conclusions of the meeting was that the 100-Day Programme should be followed by a new plan for 1993. Subsequently, it was decided that a United Nations Conference on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia would be held in Addis Ababa in March 1993 to review the Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for 1993 and receive pledges from donors.

SITUATION DETERIORATES

In October and November 1992, despite all efforts by the international community, the United Nations Secretary-General and his new Special Representative for Somalia, Mr. Ismat Kittani,[2/] the situation in Somalia continued to deteriorate. Somalia remained without a central government with which to negotiate. Mogadishu was divided by rival militias. Throughout the country, a dozen or more factions — some torn by internal divisions — were active. The resulting political chaos and the extensive physical destruction severely constrained the delivery of humanitarian supplies. Widespread looting of aid supplies, robbery, armed banditry and general lawlessness compounded the situation.

Several of the Somali de facto authorities refused to agree to the deployment of United Nations troops to secure delivery of aid in areas of greatest need. UNOSOM troops in Mogadishu were fired upon and their vehicles and arms taken. Relief ships were prevented from docking, threatened and even shelled. Airports and seaports came under fire. Large sums of cash and relief aid were being extorted from donor agencies and organizations, and the lives of their personnel attempting to distribute supplies to starving people were being put in danger.

The net result was that, while relief supplies were ready and in the pipeline, only a trickle was reaching those in need. According to some estimates, as many as 3,000 persons a day were dying of starvation in Somalia, while warehouses remained stocked. Unless the problems relating to security and protection of relief supplies were resolved, it was believed that United Nations agencies and NGOs would be unable to provide the assistance in the amounts and on the urgent basis needed.

SECRETARY-GENERAL SUGGESTS FIVE OPTIONS

In a letter to the Security Council on 24 November 1992, the Secretary-General reported on the deteriorating situation in Somalia, with particular reference to the factors preventing UNOSOM from implementing its mandate. The Secretary-General stated that he did not exclude the possibility that it might become necessary to review the basic premises and principles of the United Nations effort there. He cited the lack of government in Somalia, the failure of various factions to cooperate with UNOSOM, the extortion, blackmail and robbery to which the international relief effort was subjected and the repeated attacks on the personnel and equipment of the United Nations and other relief agencies.

The members of the Council discussed the Secretary-General's letter during informal consultations on 25 November. They expressed the view that the situation in Somalia was intolerable and asked the Secretary-General to present specific recommendations on how the United Nations could remedy the situation.

In response, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a further letter, dated 29 November, in which he outlined, for the Council's consideration, five options for creating conditions for the uninterrupted delivery of supplies to the starving people of Somalia. The Secretary-General also informed the Council of a visit he received on 25 November from Mr. Lawrence Eagleburger, then Acting Secretary of State of the

United States, who indicated that, should the Security Council decide to authorize Member States to ensure the delivery of relief supplies, the United States would be ready to take the lead in organizing and commanding such an operation, in which a number of other Member States would also participate.

According to the Secretary-General's letter, the first option would be to continue and intensify efforts to deploy UNOSOM in accordance with its existing mandate. The second option suggested that the idea of using international military personnel to protect relief activities be abandoned, and that humanitarian agencies make the best arrangements they could with the various faction and clan leaders. However, the Secretary-General considered neither of these two options to be an adequate response to the crisis.

As to the other three options, the Secretary-General stated that their purpose would be to ensure, on a lasting basis, that the current violence against the international relief effort was brought to an end.

The first of those three options would be for UNOSOM troops to undertake a show of force in Mogadishu in an attempt to discourage those abusing the relief efforts. However, the Secretary-General contended that a countrywide operation would be required to have the desired deterrent effect.

The next option would entail a countrywide action by a group of Member States authorized to do so by the Security Council. The Secretary-General mentioned in this connection the offer by the United States to organize and lead such an operation. In such a case, the Secretary-General would advise the Council and those Members taking part in the operation that they find a way to recognize the Security Council's legitimate interest in the manner in which it was carried out.

The remaining option was also for a countrywide enforcement action, but one carried out under United Nations command and control. This would be consistent, the Secretary-General stated, with the recent enlargement of the Organization's role in the maintenance of international peace and security, and would strengthen its long-term evolution as an effective system of collective security. However, the United Nations Secretariat did not currently have the capability to command and control an enforcement operation of the size required. He concluded that there was no alternative but to resort to the enforcement provisions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

The Secretary-General stressed that whether an action was taken under United Nations command, or by Member States with Security Council authorization, it should be precisely defined and limited in time, "in order to prepare the way for a return to peace-keeping and post-conflict peace-building".

COUNCIL AUTHORIZES USE OF FORCE

On 3 December, the Security Council adopted, unanimously, its resolution 794 (1992), authorizing the use of "all necessary means to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia". Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Council authorized the Secretary-General and the participating Member States to make arrangements for "the unified command and control" of the military forces that would be involved. It called on all Member States that were in a position to do so to provide military forces and to make contributions in cash or in kind, and requested the Secretary-General to establish a fund through which the contributions could be appropriately channelled to the States or operations concerned.

The Security Council requested the Secretary-General and Member States contributing troops to establish appropriate mechanisms for coordination between the United Nations and their military forces, and invited the Secretary-General to attach a small liaison staff of UNOSOM to the field headquarters of the unified command. Further, the Council requested the Secretary-General and the States concerned to report regularly to it on the progress in establishing a secure environment in Somalia. It requested the Secretary-General to submit a plan to ensure that UNOSOM would be able to fulfil its mandate upon the withdrawal of the unified command.

As to the United Nations peace-keeping operation in Somalia, the Security Council decided that the operations and the further deployment of the 3,500 personnel of UNOSOM, authorized by resolution 775

(1992) of 28 August, should proceed at the discretion of the Secretary-General in the light of his assessment of conditions on the ground.

UNIFIED TASK FORCE DEPLOYED

The first elements of the Unified Task Force (UNITAF), spearheaded by the United States, were deployed in Mogadishu on 9 December 1992. In the following weeks UNITAF forces[3/] expanded their operations to major relief centres in Somalia. UNITAF's principal goal was to establish in Somalia a secure environment for urgent humanitarian assistance. Once that was accomplished, the military command would then be turned over to the United Nations. In the meantime, UNOSOM remained fully responsible for the political aspects and for humanitarian assistance to Somalia. Good coordination on the ground and at United Nations Headquarters was established between UNITAF and the United Nations. UNOSOM remained in the capital, and continued to liaise with UNITAF and plan for the transition to normal peace-keeping functions.

On 19 December, the Secretary-General presented to the Security Council a report in which he described actions taken to implement resolution 794 (1992) and set out his thinking on a new mandate for UNOSOM and the transition from UNITAF to continued peace-keeping operations. The Secretary-General recommended that the Council defer its decision on such a transition until it became clear whether UNITAF had achieved its goal. He suggested that it should await the establishment of a cease-fire, the control of heavy weapons, the disarming of lawless gangs and the creation of a new police force.

In his further report to the Council, dated 26 January 1993, the Secretary-General congratulated UNITAF for rapidly and successfully securing major population centres and ensuring that humanitarian assistance was delivered and distributed without impediment. As to UNOSOM, he indicated that its major preoccupation at that juncture was the planning for the transition from the operations of UNITAF to UNOSOM II. The planning exercise, the Secretary-General pointed out, was proceeding smoothly in close cooperation and consultation with the Command of UNITAF.

PEACE AGREEMENTS

In the meantime, the Secretary-General convened an informal preparatory meeting at ECA headquarters in Addis Ababa from 4 to 15 January 1993, for a national reconciliation conference envisaged under United Nations auspices. A total of 14 Somali political movements took part in the meeting, along with the Secretaries-General of LAS, OAU and OIC and the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Countries of the Horn, as well as the representatives of the current Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The following three agreements were concluded and signed at the meeting: (a) General Agreement of 8 January 1993; (b) Agreement on implementing the cease-fire and on modalities of disarmament; and (c) Agreement on the establishment of an ad hoc committee to help resolve the criteria for participation at, and the agenda for, the conference on national reconciliation, as well as any other issues pending from the informal meeting. Among other things, the informal meeting agreed on the convening of a conference on national reconciliation in Addis Ababa on 15 March 1993. The Somali parties requested the United Nations, in consultation with the relevant regional and subregional organizations, to provide logistic support both prior to and during the conference.

TRANSITION TO UNOSOM II PROPOSED

On 3 March 1993, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report containing his recommendations for effecting the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. He indicated that since the adoption of Council resolution 794 (1992) in December 1992, UNITAF had deployed approximately 37,000 troops in southern and central Somalia, covering approximately 40 per cent of the country's territory. The presence and operations of UNITAF had a positive impact on the security situation in Somalia and on the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance. He pointed out, however, that despite the improvement, a secure environment had not yet been established in Somalia and incidents of violence continued to occur. There was still no effective functioning Government in the country, no organized civilian police force and no disciplined national armed force. The security threat to personnel of the United Nations and its agencies, UNITAF, ICRC and NGOs was still high in some areas of Mogadishu and other places in Somalia. Moreover, there was no deployment of UNITAF or UNOSOM troops to the north-east and north-west, or along the Kenyan-Somali border, where security continued to be a matter of grave concern.

The Secretary-General concluded, therefore, that, should the Security Council determine that the time had come for the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II, the latter should be endowed with enforcement powers under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter so as to be able to establish a secure environment throughout Somalia. To that end, UNOSOM II, under the mandate recommended by the Secretary-General, would seek to complete, through disarmament and reconciliation, the task begun by UNITAF for the restoration of peace, stability, law and order. The mandate would also empower UNOSOM II to provide assistance to the Somali people in rebuilding their economy and social and political life, re-establishing the country's institutional structure, achieving national political reconciliation, recreating a Somali State based on democratic governance and rehabilitating the country's economy and infrastructure.

The mandate of UNOSOM II, covering the whole territory of Somalia, would include the following military tasks: (a) monitoring that all factions continued to respect the cessation of hostilities and other agreements to which they had consented; (b) preventing any resumption of violence and, if necessary, taking appropriate action against any faction that violated or threatened to violate the cessation of hostilities; (c) maintaining control of the heavy weapons of the organized factions which would have been brought under international control pending their eventual destruction or transfer to a newly constituted national army; (d) seizing the small arms of all unauthorized armed elements and assisting in the registration and security of such arms; (e) securing or maintaining security at all ports, airports and lines of communications required for the delivery of humanitarian assistance; (f) protecting the personnel, installations and equipment of the United Nations and its agencies, ICRC as well as NGOs, and taking such forceful action as might be required to neutralize armed elements that attacked, or threatened to attack, such facilities and personnel, pending the establishment of a new Somali police force which could assume this responsibility; (g) continuing the programme for mine-clearing in the most afflicted areas; (h) assisting in the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia; (i) carrying out such other functions as might be authorized by the Security Council.

Concerning disarmament, the Secretary-General stated that on the basis of the Addis Ababa agreements, a planning committee composed of senior officers from both UNITAF and UNOSOM developed a "Somalia cease-fire disarmament concept". This concept would require the establishment of cantonment, for storage of heavy weapons, as well as transition sites for temporary accommodation of factional forces while they turned in their small arms, registered for future governmental and non-governmental support and received training for eventual reintegration into civilian life. Cantonment and transition sites would be separated from each other to prevent any possibility of factions or groups seizing the heavy weapons. Those failing to comply with timetables or other modalities of the disarmament process would have their weapons and equipment confiscated and/or destroyed.

According to the Secretary-General, UNOSOM II military operations would be conducted in four phases. Phase I would concentrate on the transition of operational control from UNITAF. Military support to relief activities and the disarming of factions would continue throughout the transition. Phase II would be designed to consolidate United Nations operational control and would conclude when UNOSOM II was deployed and operating effectively throughout Somalia and the border regions. In phase III, major efforts would be made to reduce UNOSOM II's military activity and assist civil authorities in exercising greater responsibility. That phase would end when a Somali national police force became operational and major United Nations military operations were no longer required. Phase IV would concern redeployment or reduction of the UNOSOM II forces. The exact timing of transition from phase to phase would be determined to a large extent by political reconciliation efforts and rehabilitation programmes.

The deployment of UNOSOM II would be at the discretion of the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and the Force Commander acting under the authority of the Security Council; the deployment would not be subject to the agreement of any local faction leaders.

The Secretary-General estimated that it would be necessary to deploy a military component of 20,000 all ranks to carry out the assigned tasks and an additional 8,000 personnel to provide the logistic support. In addition, the United States Government agreed in principle to provide a tactical quick reaction force in support of the Force Commander of UNOSOM II. UNOSOM II would also include civilian staff of approximately 2,800 individuals.

The Secretary-General suggested 1 May 1993 as the date of transfer of budgetary and administrative control from UNITAF to UNOSOM II. It was subsequently decided that the transfer of the military command would take place on 4 May.

On 5 March 1993, the Secretary-General appointed Admiral Jonathan T. Howe (Ret.) of the United States as his new Special Representative for Somalia for an initial period of three months, effective 9 March 1993. He was asked to oversee the transition from UNITAF to UNOSOM II, in addition to continuing the tasks of "promoting political reconciliation, coordinating humanitarian assistance and paving the way for rehabilitation and reconstruction of the country". Earlier, the Secretary-General had appointed Lieutenant-General Çevik Bir of Turkey as Force Commander of UNOSOM II .4/

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTS

On 26 March, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, adopted resolution 814 (1993), by which it decided to expand the size and mandate of UNOSOM in accordance with the Secretary-General's recommendations. It authorized the mandate for the expanded UNOSOM for an initial period through 31 October 1993. The Council demanded that all Somali parties comply fully with the commitments they had undertaken, and in particular with the Agreement on Implementing the Cease-fire and on Modalities of Disarmament, and that they ensure the safety of the personnel of all organizations engaged in humanitarian and other assistance to Somalia. All States, in particular neighbouring ones, were called upon to cooperate in the implementation of the arms embargo established under resolution 733 (1992).

In other provisions of the resolution, the Council requested the Secretary-General, through his Special Representative, and with assistance from all relevant United Nations entities, offices and specialized agencies, to provide humanitarian and other assistance to the people of Somalia in rehabilitating their political institutions and economy and promoting political settlement and national reconciliation. Such assistance should include economic relief and rehabilitation of Somalia, the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons within Somalia, the re-establishment of national and regional institutions and civil administration in the entire country, the re-establishment of Somali police, mine-clearance and public information activities in support of the United Nations activities in Somalia.

CONFERENCE ON HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

As noted above, the deployment of UNITAF forces improved the security situation and facilitated the flow of food and other emergency relief supplies into the neediest areas of Somalia. The level of malnutrition and death from starvation fell dramatically in many areas. In spite of the improvements, however, the humanitarian and political situation in many parts of the country remained complex and tense. In the southern and central parts of Somalia, large numbers of people remained destitute and totally dependent on relief food assistance. Measles, diarrhoea and other infections continued to take a heavy toll, particularly on small children. Lack of access to clean water sources and poor sanitation continued to present major health threats.

In his 3 March 1993 report, the Secretary-General pointed out that a secure environment remained essential for the effective delivery of humanitarian assistance and for the reconstruction of Somalia. He identified three major challenges facing the United Nations in 1993: facilitating the voluntary return of approximately 300,000 refugees and internally displaced persons; providing jobs and work for the many millions of unemployed Somalis, including members of armed gangs, militias and various private armies; and helping the Somalis in rebuilding their society and rehabilitating the decayed infrastructure.

To achieve these objectives, the United Nations, with the active participation of the Somalis, United Nations agencies, ICRC and NGOs, put together a new Relief and Rehabilitation Programme for the war- and drought-ravaged country. The Programme was adopted at the United Nations Conference on Humanitarian Assistance to Somalia, held from 11 to 13 March 1993 in Addis Ababa under the chairmanship of the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs. The Conference was attended by some 190 Somali representatives, as well as senior representatives of donor Governments, international agencies, regional organizations and NGOs.

The Programme, covering the period from March to December 1993, included activities in 10 priority areas: re-establishment of local administrative capacity; re-establishment of national and local police forces; support services for women, particularly those victimized by violence and trauma; return of some 300,000 refugees and over 1 million displaced persons within Somalia; development of a food security system; establishment of a basic health care system; increasing the availability of potable water and of sanitation; expansion of agriculture and enhancement of livestock; work opportunities for the unemployed; and re-establishment of primary education and vocational training.

At the Addis Ababa Conference, over $130 million was pledged by international donors towards the implementation of the Programme, which was estimated to cost some $166.5 million. It was anticipated that further resources would be forthcoming as the implementation of the various projects gained momentum.

CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

As the Secretary-General indicated in his 3 March report, ultimately all the efforts undertaken by the United Nations in Somalia were directed towards one central goal: to assist the people of Somalia to create and maintain order and new institutions for their own governance.

The Secretary-General and his Special Representative continued to give high priority to national reconciliation in Somalia. As agreed at the January 1993 informal meeting and following considerable preparatory work, the Conference on National Reconciliation in Somalia was convened on 15 March 1993 in Addis Ababa. The Conference was chaired by the Secretary-General's Deputy Special Representative for Somalia, Ambassador Lansana Kouyate of Guinea, and attended by the leaders of 15 Somali political movements, as well as the representatives of LAS, OAU, OIC, the Standing Committee of the Countries of the Horn and the Non-Aligned Movement.

After almost two weeks of intensive negotiations, the leaders of all 15 Somali political movements signed, on 27 March 1993, an Agreement of the First Session of the Conference of National Reconciliation in Somalia. At the closing session of the Conference on 28 March, the agreement was unanimously endorsed by all the participants, including representatives of women's and community organizations, as well as elders and scholars.

The Agreement comprised four parts: disarmament and security, rehabilitation and reconstruction, restoration of property and settlement of disputes, and transitional mechanisms.

In the agreement, the Somali parties resolved to put an end to armed conflict and to reconcile their differences through peaceful means. They also agreed to consolidate and carry forward advances in peace, security and dialogue made since the beginning of 1993. They reaffirmed their commitment to comply fully with the cease-fire agreement that was signed in Addis Ababa in January 1993, including the handing over of all weapons and ammunition to UNITAF and UNOSOM II.

The agreement provided for a transitional period of two years, effective 27 March 1993. The transitional mechanism was to consist of the following four basic organs of authority:

- ***Transitional National Council (TNC),*** to act as the repository of Somali sovereignty and serve as the prime political authority having legislative functions during the transitional period. To consist of 74 members — three (two men and one woman) from each of the 18 regions of the country, one from each of the 15 political movements, and five from Mogadishu.
- ***Central administrative departments,*** to be responsible for the re-establishment and operation of departments of civil administration and social, economic and humanitarian affairs, thus preparing for the restoration of a formal Government;
- ***Regional councils,*** to be established in all 18 existing regions of Somalia, comprising 3 representatives from each district council in the region;
- ***District councils,*** to be established in the existing districts in every region. Members to be appointed through election or through consensus-based selection in accordance with Somali traditions.

The agreement also provided for the appointment by TNC of a Transitional Charter Drafting Committee, to draft a transitional charter, guided by the basic principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Somalia's traditional ethics.

In the agreement, the Somali parties invited the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to extend all necessary assistance to the people of Somalia for its implementation.

The Secretary-General welcomed the agreement as an important achievement of the Somali people and noted that it represented the first positive step following the adoption by the Security Council on 26 March of resolution 814 (1993). He urged the Somali leaders to proceed without any delay to work out the practical arrangements for implementing the Agreement.

UNOSOM II ACTIVITIES

THE 5 JUNE 1993 INCIDENT

As required under the Addis Ababa agreement and mandated by the Security Council, one of the crucial tasks that fell to UNOSOM II after it took over from UNITAF on 4 May 1993 was the disarmament of all Somali factions and armed groups who terrorized the people and obstructed humanitarian activities. The priority that UNOSOM II gave to disarmament generated the hostility of a few clan leaders, fearful of losing their power, towards UNOSOM. They had not only refused to disarm, but they had resorted to violence in order to frustrate efforts of UNOSOM II to bring relief, peace and development to Somalia. On 5 June, 25 Pakistani soldiers were killed, 10 were missing and 54 were wounded in a series of ambushes and armed attacks against UNOSOM II troops throughout south Mogadishu by Somali militiamen, apparently belonging to the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA) led by General Mohamed Farah Aidid. The bodies of the victims were mutilated and subjected to other forms of degrading treatment.

The Secretary-General, on 6 June, strongly condemned this "treacherous act" against peace-keepers "who were on a mission of peace, reconciliation and reconstruction", and urged "prompt and firm action" against "the perpetrators of this crime". The Secretary-General's Special Representative stated that the soldiers were "murdered as they sought to serve the neediest people in the city". He said that 12 of the soldiers were helping unload food at a feeding station "when they were foully attacked by cowards who placed women and children in front of armed men".

The Security Council, having heard the Secretary-General report on the incident, adopted its resolution 837 (1993) on 6 June. By that resolution, the Council strongly condemned the unprovoked armed attacks against UNOSOM II which "appear to have been part of a calculated and premeditated series of cease-fire violations to prevent by intimidation UNOSOM II from carrying out its mandate". It reaffirmed that the Secretary-General was authorized under resolution 814 (1993) to take all necessary measures against those responsible for the armed attacks and for publicly inciting them, including their arrest and detention for prosecution, trial and punishment. The Council requested him to investigate the incident, particularly on the role of the factional leaders involved.

The Council demanded that all Somali parties comply fully with their commitments regarding political reconciliation, cease-fire and disarmament. It re-emphasized the crucial importance of the early implementation of the disarmament of all Somali parties and of neutralizing radio broadcasting systems that contributed to the violence and attacks against UNOSOM II.

On 8 June, 11 Somali parties condemned the attacks against UNOSOM II personnel and expressed support for Security Council resolution 837 (1993).

UNOSOM II ACTS

Immediately following the adoption of resolution 837 (1993), UNOSOM II began preparations for its implementation. On 12 June 1993, UNOSOM II initiated decisive military action in south Mogadishu. In a series of air and ground military actions, UNOSOM II removed Radio Mogadishu from control of USC/SNA, and disabled or destroyed militia weapons and equipment in a number of storage sites and clandestine military facilities. The Secretary-General, in a statement released on the same day, said that the objective of the action was to restore peace to Mogadishu "so that the political reconciliation, rehabilitation and disarmament process can continue to move forward throughout Somalia". He stated that this should be seen in the context of the international community's commitment to the national disarmament programme endorsed by all Somali parties at Addis Ababa on 27 March 1993.

The actions undertaken by UNOSOM II were strongly supported by the Security Council in a Presidential statement issued on 14 June. At the same time, the Council expressed deep regret at any civilian casualties caused, adding that an investigation was under way into the incident on 13 June which had involved such casualties among the Somalis. Preliminary reports indicated that General Aidid and his supporters had used civilians, including women and children, as human shields for attacks on UNOSOM II.

On 18 June, the Security Council condemned the practice of "some Somali factions and movements in using women and children as human shields to perpetrate their attacks against UNOSOM", and deplored the civilian deaths that had resulted "despite the timely measures adopted to prevent this from happening".

In parallel with its disarmament operations, UNOSOM II instituted an investigation of the 5 June incident, as requested by Security Council resolution 837 (1993). On 17 June, with mounting evidence implicating SNA militia in the attack, the Secretary-General's Special Representative called on General Aidid to surrender peacefully to UNOSOM II and to urge his followers to surrender their arms. He directed the UNOSOM Force Commander to detain General Aidid for investigation of the 5 June attack, and of the public incitement of such attacks. General Aidid would be treated "decently, fairly and with justice", the Special Representative said. However, attacks on UNOSOM II by General Aidid's militia continued.

In his 17 August 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General pointed out that the short-sighted attitude of leaders of a few factions aggravated the already difficult situation. The ambushing of UNOSOM personnel on 5 June and on subsequent occasions left UNOSOM II with no choice but to take forceful action to effect the disarming required by all Somali factions under the Addis Ababa agreement.

The Secretary-General again pointed out that effective disarmament of all the factions and warlords was a pre-condition for implementing other aspects of UNOSOM's mandate, be they political, civil, humanitarian, rehabilitation or reconstruction. He also added that Somalia would not enjoy stability unless and until the criminal elements were apprehended and brought to justice as demanded by Security Council resolution 837 (1993).

RESOLUTION 865

On 22 September 1993, the Security Council, in resolution 865 (1993), reaffirmed the importance it attached to the successful fulfilment, on an urgent and accelerated basis, of UNOSOM II's objectives — facilitation of humanitarian assistance and the restoration of law and order and of national reconciliation in a free, democratic and sovereign Somalia — so that the mission could be completed by March 1995. In that context, the Council requested the Secretary-General to direct urgent preparation of a detailed concerted strategy with regard to UNOSOM II's humanitarian, political and security activities. The Security Council also approved the Secretary-General's recommendations relating to the re-establishment of the Somali police, judicial and penal systems.

THE 3 OCTOBER 1993 INCIDENT

Following the June 1993 events and as mandated by Security Council resolutions, UNOSOM II pursued a coercive disarmament programme in south Mogadishu. Active patrolling, weapons confiscations, and operations against USC/SNA militia depots were undertaken, together with a public information campaign to ensure that the population understood UNOSOM activities. Concurrently, UNOSOM II encouraged "cooperative" or voluntary disarmament by the Somali factions. UNOSOM II also continued its efforts to apprehend those responsible for instigating and committing armed attacks against United Nations personnel.

On 3 October 1993, United States Rangers[5/] launched an operation in south Mogadishu aimed at capturing a number of key aides of General Aidid who were suspected of complicity in the 5 June attack, as well as subsequent attacks on United Nations personnel and facilities. The operation succeeded in apprehending 24 suspects, including two key aides to General Aidid. During the course of the operation, two United States helicopters were shot down by Somali militiamen using automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades. While evacuating the 24 USC/SNA detainees, the Rangers came under concentrated fire. Eighteen United States soldiers lost their lives and 75 were wounded. One United States helicopter pilot was captured and subsequently released on 14 October 1993. The bodies of the United States soldiers were subject to humiliating treatment.

Following the events of 3 October 1993, the United States reinforced its Quick Reaction Force with a joint task force consisting of air, naval and ground forces equipped with M1A1 tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles. At the same time, President Clinton announced the intention of the United States to withdraw its forces from Somalia by 31 March 1994.

On 9 October 1993, USC/SNA declared a unilateral cessation of hostilities against UNOSOM II forces. After this declaration the situation was generally quiet, but Mogadishu remained tense and, in the capital and elsewhere, major factions were reportedly rearming, apparently in anticipation of renewed fighting.

SECRETARY-GENERAL VISITS THE REGION

In October 1993, the Secretary-General travelled to the Horn of Africa region to consult with the leaders of the region on UNOSOM II's future concerted strategy for humanitarian, political and security activities, as requested by the Security Council in its resolution 865 (1993). He discussed the situation in and relating to Somalia with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, President Hassan Gouled of Djibouti, President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya and President Meles Zenawi of Ethiopia. The Secretary-General also visited Baidoa and Mogadishu, where he held talks with military and civilian officials of UNOSOM II as well as with Somali elders.

During his visit to Africa, the Secretary-General attended a meeting convened in Cairo by President Hosni Mubarak, then OAU Chairman, with the participation of the Secretaries-General of OAU, LAS and OIC, in an effort to help to promote peace and reconciliation in Somalia and to lay the groundwork for its continued reconstruction and development.

INTERIM EXTENSION OF UNOSOM II MANDATE

In a letter to the Security Council, dated 28 October 1993, the Secretary-General requested the interim extension of the UNOSOM II mandate, which was to expire on 31 October, to allow time for the preparation of an in-depth report and for "other related consultations".

The Security Council, by its resolution 878 (1993) of 29 October, extended the UNOSOM II mandate until 18 November 1993 and asked the Secretary-General to report before that date on recent developments in Somalia, so that it could decide on a further extension of the mandate. The Council reiterated its commitment to a future concerted strategy for UNOSOM II and to undertake "in-depth consideration" of the mission's humanitarian, political and security activities" on the basis of the Secretary-General's specific suggestions.

SECRETARY-GENERAL REVIEWS SITUATION

The primary responsibility of UNOSOM II was to ensure the safe distribution of humanitarian assistance, and to carry out an extensive programme for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Somalia. Despite the deliberate attempts to prevent UNOSOM II from performing its tasks, the overall situation in Somalia underwent a major transformation: humanitarian assistance was reaching its destinations protected from attacks and banditry; starvation was largely eradicated; nutrition and immunization programmes were successful in significantly reducing the number of deaths from preventable diseases; return and repatriation programmes for refugees were initiated; schools, closed for three or four years, were reopening. Staff attached to the Humanitarian Division of UNOSOM II were deployed in all the regions of Somalia and were working together with Somalis, United Nations agencies and NGOs in expanding rehabilitation schemes.

On 12 November 1993, the Secretary-General, in his report to the Security Council, described the situation in Somalia and set forth his observations and recommendations. Stating that the situation in Somalia had changed in some important aspects, he pointed to the most dramatic and visible success in reducing starvation deaths and conditions of famine in the country. Significant improvements had been made also in the fields of public health, education, agriculture and other areas.

HUMANITARIAN AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMMES

Education. In the field of education, the Secretary-General reported that United Nations agencies, UNOSOM II and NGOs provided substantial assistance in rehabilitating the education sector. A large number of schools were rehabilitated. United Nations agencies and NGOs were assisting in re-opening schools, supplying school lunches, providing education kits, textbooks and incentives to teachers.

Health. By November 1993, some 32 hospitals were operating throughout the country as well as 81 maternal and child health centres. One hundred and three mobile vaccination teams were covering the country, working towards sustainable immunization coverage. It was estimated that about 75 per cent of children under 5 years of age received vaccination against measles. Medicines, supplies, and other equipment were being made available to hospitals, health centres and pharmacies through United Nations agencies and NGOs.

City water supply systems in a number of cities, including Mogadishu, were rehabilitated. United Nations agencies and NGOs were continuing to pursue sanitation and employment projects with food-for-work programmes. In Mogadishu alone, there were 120 such projects that provided food for teachers and hospitals. Similar projects were supported throughout Somalia.

Agriculture. According to the Secretary-General's report, in agriculture — which, historically, had been responsible for two thirds of Somalia's employment and nearly three quarters of the country's foreign exchange earnings — a good measure of success was achieved in reactivating food production and the livestock sector. The provision of seeds and agricultural tools, together with good precipitation, resulted in a substantial increase in the rainy season harvest. The delivery of relief food aid was adjusted to take into account the availability of local food supplies. In the livestock sector, the supply of veterinary drugs and the vaccination of animals facilitated the resuscitation of exports. An estimated quarter of a million head of livestock were exported since April 1993.

Commerce. Commercial and trading activities were also showing encouraging signs of recovery. Commercial traffic at Somalia's ports increased dramatically since December 1992. Civilian ship movements at Mogadishu port increased tenfold in the first half of 1993. Joint ventures between Somali and foreign investors were on the rise. Telecommunication services became available in parts of Mogadishu. Local companies were also providing fuel throughout the country.

Reconstruction and recovery. A draft framework for planning of long-term reconstruction and recovery was prepared, at the request of UNOSOM II, by a task force comprising donors, United Nations agencies and NGOs, under the coordination of the World Bank. The objectives of the framework were: (a) to establish a common vision of the economic and social reconstruction, rehabilitation and development of Somalia; (b) to identify criteria and establish priorities for reconstruction and rehabilitation; (c) to construct a mechanism for coordinated action in an environment of constrained human and capital resources. The third informal meeting of donors, United Nations agencies and NGOs, organized by the World Bank, was held in Paris on 22 October 1993. Participants reviewed the draft framework and discussed the next steps.

Refugees and resettlement. By November 1993, of some 1.7 million people displaced as a result of the turmoil and the famine in Somalia, more than 1 million crossed into Kenya and Ethiopia. Over 250,000 persons moved to Mogadishu, and about 60,000 persons to Kismayo and Baidoa. The northern regions were supporting at least 250,000 refugees and internally displaced persons.

The number of refugees returning from camps in Kenya was increasing. It was estimated that about 70,000 refugees in the Mombasa area had returned by boat to Kismayo, Mogadishu and Bossasso. Assistance was being provided to approximately 800 refugees a week returning to the Gedo region and to those spontaneously moving into the Lower and Middle Juba areas.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

Speaking of political aspects, the Secretary-General reported that his Special Representative and his staff continued their efforts to rebuild political institutions in Somalia. Thirty-nine district councils — considered to be a foundation for civil government — were established out of a total of 73 districts, excluding the districts in the north-west and Mogadishu. In Mogadishu, consultations began on the establishment of district councils. Efforts were continuing to expedite the formation of regional councils — the next layer of political reconstruction. By November 1993, regional councils were established in six areas.

National reconciliation. UNOSOM II continued to attach high priority to the national reconciliation process in Somalia. In this regard, it undertook to resolve conflicts at the regional level and to assist in reconciliation among the Somali people. A regional peace conference — convened in Kismayo, one of the most conflict-ridden areas of the country — brought together 152 elders from throughout the Juba region; on 6 August 1993, the conference participants signed the Jubaland peace agreement in which they committed themselves, on behalf of their clans, to end all hostilities among the more than 20 clans that inhabit the region. A series of similar reconciliation meetings were held in other regions of Somalia.

In the north-east and central regions — from Bossasso to Galkayo — the Deputy Special Representative and UNOSOM II political affairs officers facilitated the reconciliation of two competing wings of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF) leadership in the area. Similar efforts by UNOSOM II included the reconciliation of clans in the north-west in Erigavo, and in the Gedo region. In Mogadishu, several meetings were held between UNOSOM II officials and a 47-member supreme committee of the Hawiye sub-clan. From 30 September to 1 October 1993, an all-Somali conference attended by 600 delegates was supported by UNOSOM II. Another pan-Hawiye conference took place in Mogadishu from 14 to 16 October 1993 with the participation of Habr Gedir sub-clan.

Re-establishment of Somali police. With regard to the re-establishment of a neutral and professional Somali police force, as well as judicial and penal systems, the Secretary-General stated that UNOSOM II continued to support small locally based police forces in its areas of operation. Since May 1993, 5,000 former Somali policemen were hired to assist in the performance of police functions. UNOSOM II was finalizing a basic police training programme for Somali policemen. The United States announced a $6 million grant for the re-establishment of the Somali judicial and penal systems, as well as a $2 million assistance programme for the police force and up to $25 million-worth of equipment. Norway contributed $1 million. Cash contributions were also pledged by Japan ($10 million), Italy ($4.5 million), Germany (1.5 million), Denmark ($0.5 million), the Netherlands ($0.5 million) and Sweden ($1.6 million). A number of countries provided police advisers or trainers.

In order to investigate violations of international humanitarian law, UNOSOM II was planning to establish an Office of Human Rights. A team of international specialists, in cooperation with Somali police, were to investigate violations such as mass murder of Somali citizens and attacks and threats made against international assistance workers and UNOSOM II personnel.

SECRETARY-GENERAL PRESENTS THREE OPTIONS

Despite the progress achieved in many areas, however, the Secretary-General stressed that UNOSOM II was at a critical juncture, as the situation in Somalia was continuously evolving. There was still no effectively functioning government in the country, no disciplined national armed force, and no organized civilian police force or judiciary, although impressive progress had been achieved in initiating the recreation of the police and judiciary.

UNOSOM II's record of general progress throughout most of Somalia, the Secretary-General went on, was seriously marred by the incidents that had taken place between 5 June and 3 October 1993. Those incidents challenged the cause of disarmament and reconciliation in Somalia, created a situation of instability in south Mogadishu, and stimulated factional elements elsewhere to prepare for a future of renewed fighting.

The Secretary-General reiterated his firm belief that "without effective disarmament of all the factions and warlords in Somalia, it would not be possible for the country to enjoy lasting peace and stability". He stated that comprehensive disarmament would require the cooperation of the Somali people and of neighbouring countries, and would have to be conducted in phases, beginning with the demobilization and rehabilitation of the heavily armed militias. At the same time, disarmament must not destabilize the security balance and must equitably reduce the threat to all segments of the population.

The Secretary-General noted that voluntary disarmament did succeed to some extent both during UNITAF and in the early weeks of UNOSOM II. It was only after 5 June 1993 that it became necessary for UNOSOM II to resort to coercive methods to enforce disarmament in south Mogadishu. In this connection, he welcomed the unilateral declaration of cessation of hostilities by USC/SNA with effect from 9 October 1993 and invited USC/SNA to join the other factions in a meaningful dialogue.

The situation in Somalia, the Secretary-General observed, would continue to remain complex and complicated for the foreseeable future, and the Security Council would have to display flexibility as well as firmness in any decision that it would take while renewing the mandate of UNOSOM II.

Before presenting his recommendations on a renewed mandate for UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General pointed out that, following the events of 3 October 1993, the United States had announced its intention to withdraw all its combat troops and the bulk of its logistics support troops by 31 March 1994. He stressed that the troop-contributing countries could not be expected to maintain their generosity forever, nor could Member States be expected to maintain funding on the present scale. The Governments of Belgium, France and Sweden had earlier announced their decisions to withdraw their contingents from UNOSOM II. The Secretary-General wrote to 42 Member States inviting them to contribute, or to increase their contribution, in terms of troops and logistics support.

In light of the changing circumstances, the Secretary-General went on to present three options for the Security Council to consider in re-examining the mandate of UNOSOM II. Although it was not necessary for the Council to choose one of the options at the present stage, the time might soon come for the Council to respond to prevailing conditions and choose an appropriate course of action.

In the first option, the present mandate of UNOSOM II would remain essentially unchanged as laid down by the Security Council in its resolutions 814 (1993), 837 (1993), 865 (1993) and 878 (1993). UNOSOM II would not take the initiative to resort systematically to coercive methods to enforce disarmament. It was hoped that all factions, including USC/SNA, would cooperate to ensure peaceful conditions in the country. In Mogadishu, USC/SNA would have to remove its roadblocks and strong points throughout the city so that UNOSOM II could escort humanitarian convoys from and into the city. Should these expectations not be met, UNOSOM II must retain the capability for coercive disarmament and retaliation against attacks on its personnel. UNOSOM II would also pursue its present plans to re-establish an impartial and professional Somali police force and judicial system. The objective would be to create and maintain secure conditions for humanitarian assistance, foster national reconciliation, and implement other elements of the existing mandate.

Under this option, UNOSOM II would need the reauthorization of its present troop strength, as well as the deployment of an additional brigade. In addition, the Member States must fulfil their financial obligations, promptly and in full, of approximately $1 billion for one year.

In the second option, the Security Council would decide that UNOSOM II would not use coercive methods anywhere in the country, rely on the cooperation of the Somali parties in discharging its mandate, and use force only in self-defence. Disarmament would be entirely voluntary. Under this option, UNOSOM II would have to retain some capability to defend its personnel should inter-clan fighting resume. The emphasis would be on ensuring the unimpeded flow of humanitarian assistance, the rehabilitation of the Somali infrastructure, the repatriation of refugees, political reconciliation, the reorganization of the Somali police and judicial system and keeping secure the main supply routes between Mogadishu and outside areas.

The troop requirement under this option would be approximately 16,000 all ranks, with one brigade deployed in Mogadishu, one assigned to convoy duty and one for the security of refugees and of critical areas in need of assistance. A Force Logistics Supply Command of about 2,500 all ranks would also be needed. The financial requirements for this option would be considerably less than the first option.

Under the third option, UNOSOM II would be limited to keeping secure the airport and port in Mogadishu, as well as important ports and airports in other parts of the country, to maintain open supply routes for humanitarian purposes. It would assist in the delivery of humanitarian aid, help development agencies and programmes, and continue training a Somali police force. That option would presuppose cooperation of local authorities and would focus on the regions, rather than on Mogadishu. It would call for the deployment of about 5,000 all ranks and a financial requirement substantially less than the other two options.

The Secretary-General further noted that, in the meantime, UNOSOM II troop strength was adequate for the present purpose. UNOSOM II would not use coercive methods to ensure a secure environment which, by and large, was lacking mainly in south Mogadishu. UNOSOM II would continue its efforts to initiate a political dialogue with all the factions, including USC/SNA. In this, UNOSOM II would seek and welcome support from Somalia's neighbours, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya, and from OAU, LAS and OIC. At the same time, UNOSOM II would stand ready to protect its own personnel as well as the personnel of other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. UNOSOM II might also have to be prepared to use force to keep open the lines of communication and supply routes in Mogadishu and elsewhere.

On 16 November 1993, the Security Council adopted resolution 885 (1993). The resolution authorized the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry, in further implementation of its resolutions 814 (1993) and 837 (1993) to investigate armed attacks on UNOSOM II personnel which led to casualties among them. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to appoint the Commission at the earliest possible time.

Soon thereafter, the Security Council, based on the recommendations of the Secretary-General, established a three-member Commission of Inquiry. The Commission comprised The Honourable Matthew S.W. Ngulube, the Chief Justice of Zambia, as Chairman; General Emmanuel Erskine (Ret.) of Ghana; and General Gustav Hagglund of Finland. Mr. Winston Tubman of the United Nations Office of Legal Affairs and former Minister of Justice of Liberia was designated as Executive Secretary of the Commission's secretariat. In accordance with the decision of the Council, pending the completion of the report of the Commission, UNOSOM II suspended arrest actions against those suspected, and, by the end of November 1993, all but eight detainees of General Aidid's faction had been released.

On 17 January 1994, the Secretary-General gave instructions to his Special Representative for Somalia to release the remaining eight detainees. He ordered their release in view of Hirab peace agreement, reached on 16 January in Mogadishu between the Habr Gedir and Abgal sub-clans, as well as the written and oral report he received from Enoch Dumbutshena, the independent jurist and former Chief Justice of Zimbabwe, who had been asked to review the cases of detainees. The agreement emerged from the four-day Hirab Peace Conference which brought together 176 delegates, including chiefs, community and religious leaders, politicians, scholars and representatives of the Hirab sub-clans. Neither Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed nor General Aidid attended the Conference.

UNOSOM II'S MANDATE EXTENDED

On 18 November 1993, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, renewed the mandate of UNOSOM II for a period of six months, expiring on 31 May 1994. By adopting resolution 886 (1993), the Council decided fundamentally to review that mandate by 1 February 1994 in light of a report to be submitted by the Secretary-General on or before 15 January, on the progress made by the Somali people towards national reconciliation. The Council further requested the Secretary-General to supply, as part of his report, an updated plan for UNOSOM II's future humanitarian, political and security strategies.

Affirming that the Addis Ababa agreements of 8 January and 27 March 1993 established a sound basis for resolving the problems in Somalia, the Council urged all parties, including movements and factions, to accelerate political reconciliation and immediately to abide by the cease-fire and disarmament agreements, particularly the cantonment of heavy weapons. It also reminded all the parties that continued United Nations involvement in Somalia depended on their active cooperation and tangible progress towards a political settlement.

The Council underscored the importance of the early and effective functioning of all district and regional councils and an interim national authority. It also stressed the importance attached to the provisions in resolution 865 (1993) regarding the establishment of an operational police, penal and judiciary system at the regional and district level as soon as feasible.

Emphasizing the relationship between rehabilitation and progress in national reconciliation, the Council encouraged donor countries to make contributions particularly to rehabilitation projects in those regions where progress on political reconciliation and security had been made. Member States were also urged to make funds available directly or through the Somalia Trust Fund for priority projects, including the re-establishment of the Somali police and removal of land mines. The Council welcomed the forthcoming convening of the Fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia in Addis Ababa from 29 November to 1 December 1993.

The Council called on all Member States that had not yet done so to contribute troops and financial support to UNOSOM II on an urgent basis. It also called on donor nations to contribute to short-term, high impact development projects to establish links between political progress and reconstruction assistance.

Expressing concern at the destabilizing effects of cross-border arms flows in the region, the Council called for the cessation of such flows and reaffirmed the obligation of all States to fully implement the embargo on weapons and military equipment to Somalia.

In addition, the Council condemned the continued armed attacks against persons engaged in humanitarian and peace-keeping efforts and paid tribute to those troops and humanitarian personnel who had been killed or injured while serving in Somalia.

Also by the text, the Council welcomed and supported the ongoing diplomatic efforts made by Member States and regional organizations in bringing all parties in Somalia to the negotiating table.

FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS

As requested by Security Council resolution 886 (1993) of 18 November 1993, the Secretary-General submitted a further report on 6 January 1994, in which he described the results achieved by UNOSOM II in fulfilling its mandate in the three interrelated fields — political, humanitarian and security.

POLITICAL ASPECTS

National reconciliation. Having said that progress in political reconciliation and reconstruction was central to the success of development efforts and the securing of international assistance to Somalia, the Secretary-General pointed to two primary obstacles on the political level: (a) deep divisions between the two main factional alliances, the Group of 12 supporting Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed and USC/SNA led by General Mohamed Farah Aidid; and (b) the continued rejection by USC/SNA of all political initiatives undertaken by UNOSOM II.

A further attempt to stimulate Somali national reconciliation was made at a political meeting following the Fourth Humanitarian Conference convened by the United Nations at Addis Ababa. From 2 to 11 December 1993, at the invitation of the Ethiopian Government and with the support of UNOSOM II, representatives of the two main alliances, the Group of 12 and USC/SNA, met to discuss outstanding matters and disputes between them. Despite warnings from the international community that failure to achieve progress on the political front could drive away the needed international assistance, the factional representatives failed to agree on a structure for face-to-face talks between their leaders.

There were also sharp differences of opinion between the Group of 12 and USC/SNA on a number of other key issues, including the status of the district and regional councils, and USC/SNA's suggestion that the Addis Ababa agreement be revised. Moreover, USC/SNA continued to insist that the United Nations had no role to play in political reconciliation in Somalia, preferring this to be done by regional Powers, while the Group of 12 held the view that UNOSOM II should remain in Somalia and that the United Nations must play a key role in the Somali political process.

In his report, the Secretary-General stated that a key task of UNOSOM II would be to try to assist in efforts to facilitate the national reconciliation process among the Somali factions. Simultaneously, UNOSOM II would continue to convey the message to Somali factional leaders that the international community was not prepared to wait indefinitely for an improved security environment in which to work on behalf of the Somali people.

District councils. The Secretary-General reported progress in the establishment of district councils throughout the country. Fourteen additional councils were certified during November and December 1993, bringing the total to 53 out of 81 districts (excluding the north-west).[6/] In addition to establishing new district councils, efforts continued in strengthening those councils already established. A team of UNOSOM II staff paid visits to each district to assess the particular support needed by local governments.

According to the Secretary-General, one of the primary obstacles to the effective establishment of district councils in Somalia had been the opposition of USC/SNA, which had refused to participate in the process and which had in some instances attempted to block the formation of councils through intimidation or the creation of shadow USC/SNA district councils.

Regional councils. Since the Secretary-General's 12 November 1993 report, two additional regional councils had been formed, bringing the total number of regional councils to 8 out of the 13 in Somalia, excluding the north-west. Three more regional councils were expected to be inaugurated in the near future. In accordance with the Addis Ababa agreement, the primary task of the regional councils was to implement humanitarian, social and economic programmes in coordination with TNC and to assist in the conduct of the internationally supervised census.

Transitional National Council. The Secretary-General reported that, with the exception of the USC/SNA faction, participants in the Addis Ababa political meetings expressed a strong intention to work towards the rapid establishment of TNC. So far UNOSOM II had received nine nominations for representatives from the 15 political factions, each of which might nominate one representative to TNC. In addition, regional councils, which nominate three representatives each, began deliberations for the selection of their representatives to TNC.

Police and justice. Progress was made in the re-establishment of police forces and justice systems in Somalia. This was particularly important in the north-east, where no United Nations military forces had been deployed. UNITAF/UNOSOM II had re-established 107 police stations in Somalia's districts. Nationally, there were 6,737 policemen at the regional and district levels, 311 judicial personnel in 8 regions and 26 districts, and over 700 prison officers in two regions. It was also planned to put in place a Somali police rapid deployment force, known as Darawishta, by March 1994.

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

In the humanitarian field, the Secretary-General stated that UNOSOM II renewed its effort to place humanitarian programmes at the forefront of its work in Somalia. However, despite successful efforts to end famine in the country, there were indications that malnutrition levels were on the rise again in parts of Somalia, including Mogadishu and the Juba valley, two areas of ongoing conflict and insecurity. Consequently, the Division of Humanitarian Affairs of UNOSOM II, United Nations agencies and NGOs had stepped up efforts to provide emergency food relief and medical treatment to the affected population.

Although insecurity in parts of Somalia slowed and complicated resettlement programmes, the Secretary-General pointed out, UNOSOM II continued to cooperate with UNHCR and other agencies to facilitate the safe and orderly return of Somali refugees and internally displaced persons. Particularly successful resettlement projects were undertaken in the Juba valley, where, since October 1993, over 3,000 persons had returned from camps in Kenya, and from those in Kismayo and Mogadishu.

At the Fourth Coordination Meeting on Humanitarian Assistance for Somalia, held at Addis Ababa from 29 November to 1 December 1993, representatives from Somali regions, political movements and the international donor community reaffirmed their commitment to accelerate Somali control of the rehabilitation and development process. In the Declaration of the meeting, the participants reaffirmed the commitment of the international community to provide unconditionally essential emergency assistance to vulnerable groups. They also stated their agreement that the Somali people should be fully involved in the rehabilitation and development process and must bear responsibility for ensuring an environment conducive to it. Assistance would be provided in those areas where stability and security had been attained. According to the Declaration, rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts should be sustainable and should contribute to enhancing efficient operations of the private sector in a free and open market system.

The Declaration called for Somali initiatives in establishing viable civil institutions and appropriate mechanisms to facilitate the reconstruction and recovery of Somalia. The Somali representatives committed themselves to establish preconditions to end insecurity; to establish regional development committees to prioritize regional development activities and mobilize resources; to establish a development council, composed of representatives of those committees; to accept the principle of the right of voluntary return of all displaced persons and refugees and establish inter-party committees to solve issues relating to returning refugees; and to establish mechanisms at the district level to ensure effective delivery of services.

The donor community, while regretting the absence from the meeting of important elements of Somali political leadership, recognized the readiness of many regions to create conditions necessary for rehabilitation. The donors agreed to support fully mechanisms established to determine rehabilitation priorities, funding modalities and implementation, and to develop a common approach among themselves for the allocation of resources.

They also agreed, among other things, to identify common security and institutional criteria for providing assistance to the regions; to provide assistance to prioritize development activities; to establish mechanisms for channelling recurrent cost funding in a sustainable manner, and to coordinate donor strategies for supporting Somali institutions of management and economic governance.

For its part, UNOSOM committed itself to work with all concerned agencies and organizations to strengthen coordination of all aspects of the United Nations efforts throughout Somalia — humanitarian, political and peace-keeping.

The Declaration called for an aid coordination body composed of representatives of donors, United Nations agencies and programmes, NGOs and other multilateral and regional institutions and organizations. Technical support for the regional committees would be provided by the United Nations Office of Development, under the umbrella of the Humanitarian Division of UNOSOM II. The Office would also serve as secretariat for the development council and for the aid coordinating body. The participants agreed that the Declaration should be translated into a plan of action.

SECURITY ISSUES

In his January 1994 report, the Secretary-General expressed his concern about the security situation in many parts of Somalia. Banditry continued to plague parts of the countryside. There were outbreaks of localized inter-clan fighting. A number of incidents involving threats and actual attacks against international agencies in outlying regions forced several NGOs to temporarily suspend their operations.

In Mogadishu itself, while direct armed confrontation between USC/SNA and UNOSOM II forces was avoided, armed banditry grew considerably, making movement for Somali commercial traffic, UNOSOM personnel and international humanitarian relief supplies increasingly dangerous. Security for international staff remained a troublesome issue. In a number of separate incidents, casualties were suffered by UNOSOM civilian and NGO staff, both international and local, on the streets of Mogadishu. As a result, there was a significant reduction in the presence of international NGOs willing to work in such an environment.

Disarmament and demobilization. The Secretary-General reaffirmed that general disarmament was a prerequisite for the establishment of the peaceful and secure environment required for national reconciliation, rehabilitation and economic reconstruction. However, despite UNOSOM II efforts to promote voluntary disarmament by the Somali parties, there were growing indications that the major factions were actively rearming in anticipation of renewed hostilities in the coming months. The Secretary-General appealed to the parties to commit themselves once again to the disarmament process agreed upon at Addis Ababa and to work constructively with UNOSOM II in order to determine how to implement these commitments.

Deployment. With regard to the deployment of UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General recalled having indicated in his 12 November 1993 report that UNOSOM II would require an additional brigade to accomplish the tasks entrusted to it by the Security Council. This would have brought the authorized troop strength of UNOSOM II to over 32,000 all ranks. However, over the preceding few months, a number of Governments had informed the Secretary-General of their intention to withdraw their contingents from UNOSOM II. Consequently, the strength of UNOSOM II at the end of March 1994 was anticipated at 19,700 (see *Composition of UNOSOM II*, below).

OPTIONS BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In concluding his report, the Secretary-General stated that progress in various fields notwithstanding, the mandate of UNOSOM II was far from being fully accomplished. He would consider UNOSOM II's mandate completed only when the Addis Ababa agreement of March 1993 was fully implemented, culminating in the holding of general elections and the installation of a popularly-elected Government. Needed towards that end were the creation of a spirit of cooperation, compromise and commitment on the part of the Somali people and the continued involvement of the international community.

Assessing the situation in Somalia, the Secretary-General stated that without the continued stabilizing presence of an adequate United Nations force, there would be an early resumption of civil strife and an unravelling of all that had been achieved. The peace-building process, therefore, would depend on the willingness of United Nations Member States to see the Somalia operation to its successful conclusion.

The Secretary-General, however, expressed doubt that UNOSOM II would have the required level of resources after 31 March 1994, when the military strength would be reduced to 19,700. Although the Secretary-General had approached a large number of United Nations Member States for contributions to UNOSOM II's military component, not a single positive response had been received. Another important question was the availability of timely and adequate financing for UNOSOM II operations.

The Secretary-General recalled that in his 12 November 1993 report, he had outlined three options relating to the mandate and functioning of UNOSOM II as regards security. He had indicated at the same time that whatever option was selected, the United Nations would continue its efforts to promote national reconciliation and institution-building.

The first option, preferred by the Secretary-General, had to be excluded, however, due to inadequate human, material and financial resources. He therefore recommended the second option for consideration by the Security Council. Under that option, UNOSOM II would not use coercive methods but would rely on the cooperation of the Somali parties. In the event that inter-clan fighting resumed in different parts of the country, UNOSOM II, while not becoming involved in the fighting, would retain some capability to defend its personnel. UNOSOM II would protect the important ports and airports in the country as well as the essential infrastructure of Somalia; keep open the main supply routes between Mogadishu and outlying areas; pursue as a matter of utmost priority the reorganization of the Somali police and judicial systems; and help with the repatriation of refugees. UNOSOM II would also continue its efforts to provide emergency humanitarian relief supplies to all in need throughout the country.

With respect to rehabilitation and development, UNOSOM II would coordinate its activities in such a manner that programmes of assistance of the international community were supported in areas of their choice. In this regard, the Secretary-General recalled that the donor community had made it clear at the Fourth Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa that aid would go only to those regions where security prevailed and where counterpart Somali institutions were available. As for the political processes in Somalia, UNOSOM II would continue to play a role as desired by the Somali people.

In recommending this option, the Secretary-General stressed that the success of UNOSOM II would depend on the cooperation of the Somali parties. It was "indispensable" for all concerned to promote national reconciliation in parallel with the re-establishment and strengthening of the Somali institutions of police and justice. "Should these efforts fail, we might witness renewed fighting and civil war in Somalia", the Secretary-General concluded.

SECURITY COUNCIL REVISES MANDATE

On 4 February 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 897 (1994), approved the Secretary-General's recommendation for the continuation of UNOSOM II, with a revised mandate for the following: assisting the Somali parties in implementing the Addis Ababa Agreements, particularly in their cooperative disarmament and cease-fire efforts; protecting major ports, airports and essential infrastructure; provide humanitarian relief to all in need throughout the country; assisting in the reorganization of the Somali police and judicial system; helping with the repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons; assisting in the political process in Somalia; and providing protection for the personnel, installations and equipment of the United Nations and its agencies as well as of NGOs providing humanitarian and reconstruction assistance.

The Council authorized a gradual reduction of UNOSOM II to a force level of up to 22,000. In that context, it underlined the vital importance of providing UNOSOM II with the material means and military assets needed for discharging its responsibilities and defending its personnel. It encouraged Member States to contribute urgently troops, civilian personnel, equipment, financial and logistical support to the Operation.

Expressing serious concern at reports of a rearming and troop build-up by Somali factions, the Council called upon all parties to cooperate fully with UNOSOM II and respect all cease-fire arrangements and other commitments. It demanded that the parties refrain from acts of intimidation or violence against humanitarian or peace-keeping personnel.

Recognizing that the people of Somalia bear the ultimate responsibility for setting up viable institutions and reconstructing their country, the Council approved that international reconstruction resources should be directed first to those regions of the country where security was being re-established. Resources would also be directed to local Somali institutions ready to cooperate with the international community in setting development priorities as contained in the Declaration of the Fourth Humanitarian Conference in Addis Ababa.

The Council requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with OAU and LAS, to consider establishing contacts with Somali parties to agree on a timetable for implementing the Addis Ababa Agreements. The objective would be to complete the process by March 1995.

The Secretary-General was further requested to report, as soon as the situation warranted, and in any case before 31 May 1994, on the situation in Somalia and the implementation of the resolution.

SOMALIA AID COORDINATION

The inaugural meeting of the Somali Aid Coordination Body (SACB), whose membership includes major bilateral and multilateral donors, United Nations agencies and non-governmental groups, was held in Nairobi on 1 and 2 February 1994. SACB was formed in response to the Declaration of the Fourth Humanitarian Conference on Somalia, which called for the creation of a new coordinating mechanism for rehabilitation activities. SACB is mandated to identify means of involving Somalis and their organizations in its efforts.

At the meeting, SACB endorsed the Plan of Action, prepared as a follow-up to the Conference, which reconfirmed that international rehabilitation and reconstruction assistance would be provided to areas of Somalia able to achieve sufficient levels of peace and security to allow long-term donor involvement. Participants discussed plans for donor missions to those regions. They also agreed to prepare a schedule for donor involvement and to plan for future emergency needs.

In view of the long-term nature of reconstruction and development programmes, the Secretary-General approved the transfer of the Development Office from UNOSOM II to a UNDP project on 15 March 1994. The Development Office would function as an integral component of United Nations activities in Somalia and in that context would cooperate closely with UNOSOM II.

NAIROBI DECLARATION

In February 1994, Acting Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Lansana Kouyate,[7/] launched an initiative to normalize the relationship between UNOSOM II and SNA, and to assist the Somali faction leaders in restoring dialogue and personal relationships among themselves. To this end, the Acting Special Representative held a series of informal consultations on the overall political and security situation in Somalia with leaders of Somali political factions.

The informal consultations in Nairobi that the Acting Special Representative succeeded in convening in March to deal with the situation in Kismayo, where inter-clan fighthing had continued since early February 1994, also provided an opportunity to reactivate the political process in Somalia. On 17 March 1994, Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed of the Group of 12/Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA) and General Mohamed Farah Aidid, leader of SNA, met in Nairobi, under the auspices of the Acting Special Representative. It was the first meeting of the two political leaders since December 1992.

On 24 March, after a series of intensive consultations in Nairobi, Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Aidid signed, respectively for the Group of 12 and SNA, the Declaration of National Reconciliation. In this Declaration, the Somali faction leaders, *inter alia*, repudiated "any form of violence as a means of resolving conflicts" and committed themselves to implement "cease-fire and voluntary disarmament throughout Somalia". They also agreed to "restore peace throughout Somalia, giving priority wherever conflicts exist".

It was agreed that in order to restore the sovereignty of the Somali State, a National Reconciliation Conference would be convened on 15 May 1994 to elect a President and Vice-Presidents, and to appoint a Prime Minister, and that the Somalia factions which had signed the March 1993 Addis Ababa Peace Agreement and the Somali National Movement (SNM) would meet on 15 April 1994 in Mogadishu to prepare for the Conference. They would also discuss the establishment of a Legislative Assembly after the formation of a national Government.

In addition, on 27 March, the parties directly involved in the conflict in Kismayo — the Somali Patriotic Movement and SNA — signed an agreement, calling for a cease-fire as of 27 March and a Lower Juba Reconciliation Conference to be convened on 8 April 1994 in Kismayo. The parties also agreed to appoint a committee to work out the details of its agenda.

The Secretary-General welcomed the signing of the Nairobi Declaration and congratulated Somali political leaders for showing wisdom and political maturity during the negotiations. He urged the leaders to implement fully the commitments undertaken in the Declaration and pledged the full support of the United Nations in helping the Somali people achieve peace and stability.

MEETINGS POSTPONED

After consultations by the Acting Special Representative with the two Somali signatories of the Nairobi Declaration — Mr. Ali Mahdi and General Mohamed Farah Aidid — the opening of the meeting of the signatory factions of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement and the Somali National Movement in Mogadishu, scheduled to be held on 15 April 1994, was postponed. As at the end of April, it was expected that the postponement would extend into early May 1994. One reason for the postponement was the to ensure participation of all those invited, including SNM, in the meeting. It was hoped that the National Reconciliation Conference, originally scheduled for 15 May, would take place in late May 1994. The Lower Juba Reconciliation Conference was also postponed.

HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES

The Division for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in UNOSOM II has continued its efforts to coordinate the provision of humanitarian assistance throughout the country. United Nations agencies and

NGOs have been able to improve the response to emergency needs through close collaboration in field monitoring and surveillance. A task force for food security and crop assessment has been set up to provide data and information essential for projecting requirements and to enhance the effectiveness of the overall contingency planning mechanism. The strategy adopted for contingency planning includes the storage of emergency supplies at key locations, the establishment of communication links and the nomination of lead organizations with the overall aim of accelerating the response to sudden emergencies.

The outbreak of a cholera epidemic in February 1994 created an unexpected health emergency. Under the auspices of UNOSOM, a task force was quickly established to coordinate the efforts of United Nations agencies and NGOs. By the end of April 1994, a total of 12,400 cases and 490 fatalities had been reported. Many organizations have been obliged to divert scarce resources from their programmes in order to contain the cholera epidemic.

COMPOSITION OF UNOSOM II

The original authorized strength of UNOSOM II was approximately 28,000 military personnel and some 2,800 civilian staff. Military personnel were provided by the following countries: Australia, Bangladesh, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Kuwait, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Romania, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United States and Zimbabwe. The civilian component of UNOSOM II consisted of staff members of the United Nations and of personnel seconded from Member States.

In addition, there were approximately 17,700 troops in the United States Joint Task Force in Somalia, which did not form part of UNOSOM II and were not under the operational command of the UNOSOM II Force Commander. This number included the Quick Reaction Force, deployed in support of UNOSOM II.

In the course of 1993, a number of Member States, including Belgium, France and Sweden, informed the Secretary-General of their intention to withdraw their contingents from UNOSOM II by the end of December 1993. In addition, the United States announced, in October 1993, that it would withdraw its troops from Somalia by the end of March 1994. Accordingly, the French contingent (1,100 all ranks), the Belgian contingent (950 all ranks) and the Swedish Field Hospital (150 all ranks) were withdrawn from Somalia in December 1993. The United States also withdrew 1,400 military logistics personnel at the end of December. As a result, the strength of UNOSOM II on 1 January 1994 was 25,945.

Four other Member States decided to withdraw their contingents before the end of March 1994: Italy (2,300), Germany (1,350), Turkey (320) and Norway (140). The United States withdrew the rest of its military logistics personnel (1,400) also by the end of March 1994. The United States Quick Reaction Force (1,350) was also withdrawn at that time.

The troop strength available to UNOSOM II at the end of March 1994 was 18,133. The military personnel were provided by Australia, Bangladesh, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, Greece, India, Ireland, Malaysia, Morocco, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Zimbabwe.

Saudi Arabia, Morocco and the United Arab Emirates announced their decision to withdraw their contingents from Somalia in April 1994, but they were expected to be replaced by additional forces from Indonesia and Pakistan. On 30 April 1994, military personnel were provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	TROOPS
Australia	67
Bangladesh	940
Botswana	423
Canada	2
Egypt	1,666
India	4,925
Ireland	82
Malaysia	955
Nepal	311
New Zealand	50
Nigeria	702
Pakistan	7,057
Romania	231
Zimbabwe	993
TOTAL	18,404

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

As to the financing of UNOSOM II, the rough annual cost of the operation to the United Nations is approximately $1.0 billion. The costs of the operation are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, contributions outstanding to the UNOSOM Special Account (UNOSOM I and UNOSOM II) amounted to approximately $504.5 million.

The Security Council, by resolution 794 (1992) of 3 December 1992, requested the Secretary-General to establish a fund through which contributions could be channelled to States or operations involved in establishing a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia. The total contributions to the Fund established as "The Trust Fund for Somalia – Unified Command", have been $105 million. In its resolution 814 (1993), the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to maintain the Fund for the additional purpose of receiving contributions for the maintenance of UNOSOM II forces following the departure of UNITAF forces in early May 1993 and for the establishment of a Somali police force.

NOTES

1/ On 14 June 1994, the Secretary-General announced his intention to appoint, effective 1 July 1994, Mr. Victor Gbeho, Principal Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ghana, as his Special Representative for Somalia. Mr. Lansana Kouyate, Acting Special Representative, would then assume his functions as Assistant Secretary-General in the Department of Political Affairs at United Nations Headquarters in New York.

2/ Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appointed Mr. Ismat Kittani (Iraq) as his Special Representative for Somalia on 3 November 1992, to replace Mr. Mohammed Sahnoun who had resigned.

3/ In addition to the United States forces, UNITAF included military units from Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Kuwait, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom and Zimbabwe.

4/ On 18 January 1994, General Bir was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Aboo Samah Bin Aboo Bakar of Malaysia as Force Commander of UNOSOM II.

5/ United States forces (United States Rangers and the Quick Reaction Force) were deployed in Mogadishu in support of the UNOSOM II mandate, but were not under United Nations command or control.

6/ The legal status of several districts was still the subject of discussions between UNOSOM II and local Somali communities. As a result, the total number of districts said to exist in Somalia might vary.

7/ The Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Somalia, Admiral Jonathan T. Howe (Ret.), completed his year-long assignment in early February 1994. His Deputy, Ambassador Lansana Kouyate, was appointed as the Acting Special Representative.

PS/DPI/18/Rev.4 – May 1994

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION UGANDA-RWANDA

LOCATION: Ugandan side of the Uganda-Rwanda border

HEADQUARTERS: Kabale

DURATION: June 1993 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 81 military observers, 10 international staff and 6 locally recruited personnel

ACTING CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVER: Colonel Asrarul Haque (Bangladesh)

BACKGROUND

Fighting between the Armed Forces of the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) first broke out in October 1990 across the border between Rwanda and its northern neighbour, Uganda. Despite a number of cease-fire agreements thereafter, hostilities resumed in the northern part of the country in early February 1993. These interrupted comprehensive negotiations between the Government of Rwanda and RPF, which were supported by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and facilitated by the United Republic of Tanzania.

In support of resumption of the negotiations, Rwanda and Uganda, in separate letters to the President of the Security Council on 22 February 1993, called for the deployment of United Nations military observers along the 150-kilometre common border in order to prevent the military use of the area, especially the transportation of military supplies. RPF control of the border area had been extensive.

Following consultations in the Security Council on 24 February concerning these letters, the Secretary-General decided to send a goodwill mission to Rwanda and Uganda. He instructed the mission to examine all major aspects of the peace process including the possibility of deploying military observers along the border. The goodwill mission carried out this mandate from 4 to 18 March 1993.

Meanwhile, efforts by OAU and Tanzania led to a meeting between the Government of Rwanda and RPF from 5 to 7 March at Dar-es-Salaam, the capital of Tanzania. In a closing joint communiqué, the Government of Rwanda and RPF pledged their commitment to a negotiated settlement and agreed to reinstate the cease-fire on 9 March and to the resumption of peace talks in Arusha, Tanzania. They also committed themselves to providing adequate security and protection to displaced persons.

On 12 March 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 812 (1993), called on the Government of Rwanda and RPF to respect the renewed cease-fire, to resume negotiations, to allow the delivery of humanitarian supplies and the return of displaced persons, and to fulfil the obligations and commitments the parties had made in the past. The Council also welcomed the goodwill mission the Secretary-General had sent to Rwanda and Uganda. Finally, it asked him to examine the requests of those two countries for the deployment of observers along their common border.

Following the adoption of the Council resolution, the Secretary-General decided to send a technical mission to the area. The mission visited Uganda from 2 to 5 April and Rwanda on 6 April. It reported that it would be possible to deploy United Nations military observers to monitor the border between Uganda and

Rwanda and verify that no military assistance — lethal weapons, ammunition and other material of possible military use — was being provided across it. It was decided that deployment of the observers would be on the Ugandan side of the border only.

OBSERVER MISSION IS AUTHORIZED

On 22 June 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 846 (1993), authorized the establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) on the Uganda side of the common border, for an initial period of six months, subject to review every six months. The Council decided that the verification would focus primarily on transit or transport, by roads or tracks which could accommodate vehicles, of lethal weapons and ammunition across the border, as well as any other material which could be of military use.

The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to support the peace-keeping efforts of OAU by putting two military experts at its disposal to help expedite the deployment of OAU's expanded Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG) to Rwanda. It also urged the Government of Rwanda and RPF to conclude quickly a comprehensive peace agreement, and requested the Secretary-General to report on the contribution the United Nations could make to assist OAU in implementing this agreement and to begin contingency planning in the event that the Council decided that such a contribution was needed.

As requested by resolution 846 (1993), the United Nations undertook consultations with the Government of Uganda with a view to concluding a status of mission agreement. The agreement was finalized and entered into force on 16 August 1993. This opened the way to deployment of an advance party which arrived in the mission area on 18 August. By the end of September, UNOMUR had reached its authorized strength of 81 military observers and was fully operational.

UNOMUR ACTIVITIES

The Arusha peace talks, which had resumed on 16 March 1993, were successfully concluded on 4 August 1993. The Government of Rwanda and RPF called for the establishment of a neutral international force to facilitate the implementation of the peace agreement. On 5 October, the Security Council, by resolution 872 (1993), established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).[1/]

UNOMUR established its headquarters in Kabale, about 20 kilometres north of the border with Rwanda. It set up observation posts at two major crossing sites and three secondary sites on the Ugandan side of the border. The mission also initiated monitoring of the border area through mobile patrols and planned to enhance its operational capability with airborne coverage.

The Secretary-General, in his 15 December 1993 report to the Security Council, noted that UNOMUR had been "a factor of stability in the area and that it was playing a useful role as a confidence-building mechanism". He therefore recommended to the Council that the mandate of the mission be extended for a period of six months. The Council, by its resolution 891 (1993) adopted on 20 December 1993, extended the mandate of UNOMUR for a period of six months. The Council expressed its appreciation to the Government of Uganda for its cooperation and support for UNOMUR and also underlined the importance of a cooperative attitude on the part of the civilian and military authorities in the mission area.

UNOMUR'S OPERATIONS READJUSTED

Initially, UNOMUR restricted its monitoring activities in Uganda along the area of the border with Rwanda controlled by RPF. The resumption of civil war in Rwanda in April 1994 affected not only the mandate of UNAMIR, but also UNOMUR's monitoring operations.[2/] After RPF gained control of the entire Uganda-Rwanda border, the Mission extended its observation and monitoring activities to that area. This necessitated the readjustment of tasks and the reassignment of United Nations military observers.[3/]

Currently, UNOMUR carries out its tasks essentially through patrolling, monitoring and surveillance of the whole stretch of the operational area, involving both mobile and fixed observations as well as on-site investigations of suspected cross-border traffic. The arrival in the mission area of three helicopters in early April 1993 has strengthened UNOMUR's overall operational capacity.

COMPOSITION OF UNOMUR

The authorized strength of UNOMUR is 81 military observers. Military observers are provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	OBSERVERS
Bangladesh	20
Botswana	9
Brazil	13
Hungary	4
Netherlands	9
Senegal	10
Slovak Republic	5
Zimbabwe	10
TOTAL	80

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

The mission also includes 10 international and six local civilian support staff.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The costs related to the operation of UNOMUR are included in the cost of UNAMIR.

NOTES

1/ For more information on UNAMIR , see page 157, *United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.*

2/ For more information on the renewed conflict in Rwanda, see page 157, *United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda.*

3/ On 16 June 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council his second progress report on UNOMUR. He noted that the drastic change in the overall situation, sparked by the deaths of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi on 6 April 1994, and resulting in the resumption of hostilities in Rwanda, affected not only UNAMIR but also UNOMUR's monitoring operations on Uganda's border with Rwanda. These operations had therefore to be readjusted.

The Secretary-General reiterated that UNOMUR had continued to be a factor of stability in the area and had been particularly critical in recent months as UNAMIR had sought to defuse tensions resulting from the resumption of hostilities.

Nevertheless, the Secretary-General noted that, in view of the resumed hostilities, there appeared to be little rationale for monitoring one of Rwanda's borders and not the others. As UNOMUR's activities allowed UNAMIR to address, at least to some degree, the issue of outside interference in the Rwandese civil war, he believed that UNOMUR should continue its monitoring activities until an effective cease-fire was established. The Secretary-General therefore recommended that UNOMUR's mandate be renewed for a period of three months. During that period, the number of military observers would be reduced by phases, adjusting to operational requirements. UNOMUR would be closed down by 21 September 1994.

On 20 June 1994, the Security Council adopted resolution 928 (1994) endorsing the Secretary-General's recommendations and requesting him to report to the Council on the termination of UNOMUR before the completion of its mandate.

PS/DPI/22/Rev.1 – May 1994

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNOMIG

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN GEORGIA

LOCATION: Georgia

HEADQUARTERS: Sukhumi

DURATION: August 1993 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 55 military observers

SPECIAL ENVOY OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Edouard Brunner (Switzerland)

CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVER: Brigadier-General John Hvidegaard (Denmark)

BACKGROUND

The conflict in Abkhazia, strategically located on the Black Sea in the northwestern region of the Republic of Georgia, began with social unrest and the attempts by the local authorities to separate from the Republic. It escalated into a series of armed confrontations in the summer of 1992 when the Government of Georgia, concluding that the railway and certain communication links had to be protected, deployed 2,000 Georgian troops in Abkhazia. Fierce fighting broke out on 14 August 1992 when the Georgian troops entered Abkhazia, resulting in some 200 dead and hundreds wounded. The Abkhaz leadership abandoned the Abkhaz capital of Sukhumi and retreated to the town of Gudauta.

The relations between the Abkhaz and the Georgians have been tense for decades. Historically, the Abkhaz attempted many times to separate from the Republic of Georgia. Most recently, in August 1990, the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet declared Abkhazia a sovereign republic of the Soviet Union independent of Georgia. This was immediately annulled by the Georgian Supreme Soviet. As a compromise for remaining in the Republic of Georgia, the Abkhaz were given disproportionate representation in the Supreme Council of Abkhazia. At that time, of the total population in Abkhazia of 540,000, only about 18 percent were Abkhaz. The majority was Georgian (about 47 per cent), and others included Armenians (about 18 per cent) and Russians (about 13 per cent). In December 1991, a new Supreme Council was elected, which allocated 28 seats to the Abkhaz, 26 seats to the Georgians and 11 seats to the remaining 35 per cent of the population. This did not ease the tension between the Abkhaz and Georgians. The Supreme Council split into two opposing factions, and for all intents and purposes, it ceased to function.

THE 1992 CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT

A cease-fire agreement was reached on 3 September 1992 in Moscow by the Republic of Georgia, the leadership of Abkhazia and the Russian Federation. The agreement stipulated that "the territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia shall be ensured". It also set out, as the basis of the peace settlement, a cease-fire to take effect as of 5 September 1992; the establishment of a Monitoring and Inspection Commission composed of representatives of Georgia, Abkhazia and the Russian Federation to ensure compliance with the agreement; the disarming and withdrawal of all illegal armed formations that had come from outside Georgia; the reduction of the armed forces of Georgia in Abkhazia to an agreed number required to protect railway and certain other installations; the exchange of detainees, prisoners and hostages by 10 September 1992; the removal of all impediments to the free movement of goods and persons; the return of refugees to their homes; the search for missing persons; and the resumption of the normal functions by the legitimate authorities of Abkhazia by 15 September 1992. The agreement also included an appeal to the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to assist in the implementation of the peace settlement.

In a related development, on 10 September 1992, the Security Council asked the Secretary-General to inform the Council periodically of the developments in Abkhazia.

SITUATION DETERIORATES

The agreement was never fully implemented. Both sides accused one another of continuing to violate the cease-fire. The situation remained very tense, as confirmed by the United Nations mission to the region from 12 to 20 September 1992. On 1 October 1992, the cease-fire collapsed, and the fighting resumed in all areas. The Abkhaz forces, supported by fighters from the North Caucasus region, quickly captured the major towns, and threatened to bring nearly 80 per cent of Abkhazia, including the capital city of Sukhumi, under their control. The raging fighting forced some 30,000 civilians to flee across the border to the Russian Federation. The parties to the conflict accused one another of human rights violations committed against the civilian population.

By November 1992, the outbreak of inter-ethnic fighting in the North Caucasus region of the Russian Federation added another dimension to the already tense situation in the area.

UNITED NATIONS EFFORTS

The United Nations sought to revive the peace process by diplomatic means. In carrying out peacemaking efforts, the United Nations consulted with the CSCE so as to ensure effective coordination of activities. The Secretary-General sent a second mission in mid-October 1992 to explore specific ways in which the United Nations could support the implementation of the 3 September agreement, including the possible deployment of civilian and/or military observers. Two United Nations civilian personnel remained on the spot to provide an initial United Nations presence.

In November 1992, an integrated United Nations office opened in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi, further strengthening the local United Nations presence. The office, which was initially composed of development and public information components, was to provide an integrated United Nations approach in the region and to assist in all aspects of the peacemaking efforts of the Secretary-General.

Furthermore, following a request from the Government of Georgia, a United Nations inter-agency humanitarian assessment mission visited Georgia from 30 January to 16 February 1993. The mission, which was coordinated by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs, included representatives of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Based on the findings of the inter-agency mission, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs issued a consolidated appeal for emergency humanitarian assistance for Georgia with total requirements of $20.9 million through December 1993.

On 11 May 1993, the Secretary-General stated that dispatching another United Nations mission at that time "would not be an adequate approach in attempting to revive the peace process", adding that "a more concentrated effort is needed for the establishment of a lasting cease-fire and for the resumption of a process of political negotiation".

SECRETARY-GENERAL APPOINTS SPECIAL ENVOY

On the same day, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Edouard Brunner, a national of Switzerland, as his Special Envoy for Georgia for an initial period of three months. Mr. Brunner's tasks, based on the 1992 agreement, were to obtain agreement on a cease-fire; to assist the parties in reviving the process of negotiations to find a political solution to the conflict; and to enlist the support of neighbouring countries and others concerned in achieving the above objectives. The Special Envoy was to consult closely with the Chairman-in-Office of the CSCE.

DEPLOYMENT OF UN MILITARY OBSERVERS IS RECOMMENDED

The mission undertaken by the Special Envoy for Georgia, from 20 to 31 May 1993, reaffirmed that all parties supported an active role by the United Nations in reaching a peaceful resolution to the conflict in Abkhazia. The Secretary-General held the view, endorsed by the Security Council, that an integrated peace package should be implemented, which pursued a solution on three tracks: consolidation of the cease-fire; the launching of a political negotiating process; and support for these two processes by the neighbouring countries, particularly the Russian Federation, which had been active in mediating the conflict.

To this end, the Secretary-General proposed the deployment of United Nations military observers, as well as the holding of a peace conference under the auspices of the United Nations. When the Special Envoy presented the Secretary-General's approach during his mission, it was determined that the Republic of Georgia fully supported all aspects of the approach; the Abkhaz side favoured the conference but not, at the time, the deployment of military observers; and the Russian Federation favoured the deployment of United Nations military observers, but had reservations about the conference.

In his report to the Security Council on 1 July 1993, the Secretary-General, while acknowledging the risks "of dangers inherent in deploying United Nations personnel to an area where an agreed cease-fire is not being respected", asserted that such a move "is justified in the present case given the urgent need to get the conflict in Abkhazia under control", thereby seeking the authorization of the Security Council to deploy United Nations military observers as soon as practicable.

Meanwhile, the situation on the ground deteriorated even further. A cease-fire had been agreed to on 14 May 1993 and came into effect on 20 May 1993, but it held for only two weeks. Between 2 and 7 July 1993, hospitals in the area of fighting reported that 77 Georgian soldiers were killed and 481 wounded; during the same period 6 civilians were killed and 43 wounded. Two hundred fifty wounded Abkhaz were reportedly counted in one hospital in Gudauta by an independent observer.

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that "given this very serious deterioration in the military situation, I believe that it would not be wise to proceed with the actual deployment of 50 military observers, as proposed in my report, until the cease-fire has been re-established and is being respected".

On 9 July 1993, the Security Council adopted resolution 849 (1993), by which it approved the deployment of military observers as soon as the cease-fire was implemented. The Secretary-General, who was asked to make necessary preparations and to notify the Council when conditions permitted the deployment of the observers, announced, on 19 July, that he was sending a technical planning mission to the area.

CEASE-FIRE IS REACHED

On 27 July 1993, a new agreement was concluded, through the mediation efforts of the Russian Federation, between the Government of Georgia and the Abkhaz authorities in Gudauta, which re-established a cease-fire as of 28 July. The agreement provided for the immediate commencement of phased demilitarization of the conflict zone. To monitor this process, international observers were to be deployed within 10 to 15 days of the date of the cease-fire.

On 6 August, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that "conditions now prevail which permit the deployment of the proposed military observer mission". Based on the report of the technical planning team which had been in Georgia from 19 to 26 July, the Secretary-General concluded that an expanded mandate and additional military observers than had been previously envisaged "would strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations observation mission considerably", and recommended the deployment of 88 military observers and supporting staff without delay. On the same day, the Security Council, by resolution 854 (1993), unanimously authorized the Secretary-General's 4 August request to send an advance team of up to 10 observers to help verify compliance with the cease-fire.

ADVANCE TEAM IS DEPLOYED

An advance team of 9 military observers and 8 civilian support staff arrived in Abkhazia on 8 August 1993 and established its headquarters in the city of Sukhumi. Soon after its arrival, and in agreement with both parties, the advance team initiated regular road patrols in the conflict area in order to monitor compliance with the cease-fire agreed upon on 27 July. As envisaged in the cease-fire agreement, the observers conducting these patrols established liaison with the tripartite Georgian-Abkhaz-Russian interim monitoring groups responsible for the supervision of the cease-fire on the ground. Following the establishment of the tripartite "Joint Commission" on 5 August, the leader of the team participated in its work on a regular basis in an observer capacity. The initial reports received from the team during the month of August confirmed that the cease-fire was holding.

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNOMIG

On 24 August, the Security Council, by its resolution 858 (1993), decided to establish the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), comprising up to 88 military observers, plus minimal civilian staff necessary to support the Mission, with the following mandate: to verify compliance with the cease-fire agreement of 27 July with special attention to the situation in the city of Sukhumi; to investigate reports of cease-fire violations and to attempt to resolve such incidents with the parties involved; and to report to the Secretary-General on the implementation of its mandate, including, in particular, violations of the cease-fire agreement.

The Council also decided that UNOMIG was established for a period of six months subject to the proviso that it would be extended beyond the initial 90 days "only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General whether or not substantive progress had been made towards implementing measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace". It requested the Secretary-General, through his Special Envoy, to pursue efforts to facilitate the peace process and negotiations towards the achievement of a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict.

CEASE-FIRE BREAKS DOWN

While UNOMIG was still in the early stages of deployment, the cease-fire broke down on 16 September 1993, when Abkhaz forces, with armed support from outside Abkhazia, launched attacks on Sukhumi and Ochamchira. Notwithstanding the call by the President of the Security Council in his statement of 17 September for the immediate cessation of hostilities and his condemnation of the violation of the cease-fire by the Abkhaz side, fighting continued. As a result of the intensity of the shelling and other hostilities, the UNOMIG observers were obliged to suspend all patrols as of 17 September.

In the next few days, the military situation developed rapidly, with loss of life among the local civilian population. The Georgian authorities made appeals for assistance to the Russian Federation, to the CSCE and to the United Nations Secretary-General. The Abkhaz side ignored all calls to halt the military action, and occupied the city of Sukhumi on 27 September.

Following the breakdown of the cease-fire, further deployment of UNOMIG was suspended. The strength of UNOMIG in Sukhumi was limited to four military observers, including the Chief Military Observer, and four civilians. Seven observers remained in Sochi, a city on the territory of the Russian Federation, where they were when the hostilities resumed. One observer remained in Tbilisi.

SECRETARY-GENERAL REVIEWS SITUATION

The Secretary-General, in his 7 October 1993 report to the Security Council, stated that UNOMIG's mandate had been invalidated as a result of the general breakdown of the cease-fire and the collapse of the tripartite machinery responsible for its implementation. He also reported that, as a matter of priority, he was exploring with the parties and with the Russian Federation the possible need for and usefulness of the continuing presence of UNOMIG with a "revised mandate adapted to the radically changed circumstances".

In the meantime, the Secretary-General proposed maintaining the present strength of UNOMIG in Sukhumi, where the Chief Military Observer had already established contact with Abkhaz military and civilian officials. He was assured of their cooperation and that UNOMIG would enjoy freedom of movement in monitoring the situation there.

The Secretary-General intended to consult with the parties and with the Russian Federation, and to present to the Security Council his recommendations relating both to the future of UNOMIG and to the political aspects of the United Nations role in trying to end the conflict in Abkhazia.

SECURITY COUNCIL ACTS

By its resolution 876 (1993) adopted on 19 October, the Security Council reaffirmed its condemnation of the violation by Abkhaz forces of the cease-fire agreement, and their subsequent violations of international humanitarian law. It also condemned the killing of the Chairman of the Defence Council and Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, and demanded that all parties to the conflict refrain from the use of force and from any violations of international humanitarian law. The Council welcomed the Secretary-General's decision to send a fact-finding mission to Georgia, in particular to investigate reports of "ethnic cleansing".

The Council reiterated its support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, in cooperation with the CSCE Chairman-in-Office and with the assistance of the Government of the Russian Federation as a facilitator, to promote efforts to achieve an overall political settlement. While welcoming the humanitarian assistance already provided to victims of the conflict, the Council urged Member States to contribute to relief efforts being carried out by international aid agencies.

FACT-FINDING MISSION VISITS ABKHAZIA

A fact-finding mission to investigate the situation of human rights in Abkhazia visited the area from 22 to 30 October 1993. In its report, which was submitted by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on 17 November 1993, the mission noted "numerous and serious" human rights violations committed in Abkhazia since the outbreak of the armed conflict in August 1992. Civilians, including women, children and elderly persons, as well as combatants who were no longer actively participating in armed confrontations were victims of violations of the right to life and physical integrity, of the right to personal security and of property rights. The victims included members of all ethnic groups inhabiting Abkhazia.

According to the report, both Georgian government forces and Abkhazian forces, as well as irregulars and civilians cooperating with them were responsible for such human rights violations. In addition to the loss of numerous lives, the conflict had led to the almost complete devastation of vast areas and the massive displacement of population.

In concluding its report, the fact-finding mission recommended a number of measures to be undertaken by the parties in order to restore human rights in the territory of Abkhazia.

THREE-MONTH EXTENSION AUTHORIZED

Meanwhile, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council on 27 October 1993 that his Special Envoy for Georgia had had discussions in Geneva with Abkhaz and Georgian representatives. He had also been invited for discussions in early November with the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister. In view of those developments, the Secretary-General said that he was planning for his Special Envoy to hold a first round of discussions with both parties in late November 1993, under the auspices of the United Nations and with the Russian Federation present as facilitator. The CSCE would also be invited to attend as a participant. The discussions would focus on the question of a political settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia.

As for UNOMIG, the Secretary-General recommended that the Mission be continued at its present strength of four military observers with minimal support staff in Sukhumi for a further three months. A fifth military observer would continue to provide liaison services in

Tbilisi. He observed that UNOMIG had established good relations with Abkhaz officials in Sukhumi and had been able to conduct patrols in the city. The Mission's continued presence in its present form and size would give the population visible evidence of international concern.

Since UNOMIG's original mandate had been invalidated by the fighting in Abkhazia in September, the Secretary-General recommended that the Mission have an interim mandate to maintain contacts with both sides to the conflict and with Russian military contingents, and to monitor and report on the situation, with particular reference to developments relevant to United Nations efforts to promote a comprehensive political settlement.

On 4 November 1993, the Security Council, by its resolution 881 (1993), welcomed the Secretary-General's report of 27 October 1993 and approved the continued presence of UNOMIG in Georgia until 31 January 1994. It also decided that UNOMIG would not be extended beyond that date unless the Secretary-General reported that substantive progress had been made towards implementing measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace or that the peace process would be served by the prolongation of its mandate.

PROGRESS IN TALKS REPORTED

On 16 December 1993, the Secretary-General, in a letter to the President of the Security Council, informed the Council that a Memorandum of Understanding had been signed by the parties to the conflict on 1 December 1993 in Geneva in the presence of representatives of the United Nations, the Russian Federation and the CSCE. The Memorandum covered three vital areas — political, humanitarian and war damage issues — and included major commitments towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict: not to use force or threat of force against each other for the period of continuing negotiations; to exchange prisoners of war and assist in finding those missing before 20 December 1993; and to return hundreds of thousands of refugees, as well as occupied homes and properties.

The Secretary-General believed that the signing of the Memorandum manifested encouraging progress towards lasting peace in the area. He therefore recommended that the Council authorize the deployment of up to 50 additional military observers, together with a minimal number of civilian support staff. A reinforced UNOMIG would be better placed to ascertain the actual conditions on the ground, and to plan and prepare for a further expansion beyond the 50, should the next round of negotiations scheduled in January 1994 warrant it.

By its resolution 892 (1993) of 22 December 1993, the Security Council welcomed the signature of the Memorandum of Understanding and authorized the phased deployment of additional military observers as recommended by the Secretary-General.

NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

A second round of negotiations, chaired by the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, took place in Geneva from 11 to 13 January 1994. On the last day of the talks, the representatives of the Abkhaz and Georgian sides signed a communiqué.

In the communiqué, the parties noted that the provisions of the Memorandum of Understanding were, for the most part, being implemented. An exchange of prisoners had taken place on the principle of "all for all"; representatives of UNHCR had carried out a first preparatory visit; and on 15 and 16 December 1993 a group of experts had met in Moscow to prepare recommendations on the political status of Abkhazia.

The two sides reaffirmed their commitment not to use force or the threat of force against each other. They agreed that the deployment of a full-scale peace-keeping operation in Abkhazia would contribute to the establishment of favourable conditions for further progress towards a political settlement and the practical implementation of agreements. They also made further statements on a number of military aspects. It was agreed that the third round of negotiations would be held on 22 February 1994.

OPTIONS BEFORE THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Secretary-General, in his 25 January 1994 report to the Security Council on the diplomatic efforts and the situation in Abkhazia, recommended that the Council maintain UNOMIG with its present mandate and strength of up to 55 military observers for a limited period to 15 March 1994. That would permit time for further consultations and, in particular, for the parties to demonstrate their willingness to make substantive progress on the political issues facing them.

The Secretary-General postponed making a substantive recommendation on an expanded international military presence in Abkhazia. However, he emphasized that should the Council decide, in the current circumstances, that an enlarged international military presence in Abkhazia was desirable both to consolidate the cease-fire and to create conditions for the return of refugees and displaced persons, that presence could take a number of possible forms. Two options, in particular, were discussed with the Secretary-General's Special Envoy and with the group of Member States that had constituted themselves as the "Friends of Georgia" (France, Germany, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and United States).

Under the first option, the Council could establish a traditional United Nations peace-keeping force of some 2,500 troops, under United Nations command and control, to operate initially in the areas of the Gali region and the Inguri and Psou rivers. It would aim to carry out an effective separation of forces, monitor the disarmament and withdrawal of armed units, and help create conditions conducive to the return of refugees and displaced persons.

Under the second option, the Council could authorize a multinational force, not under United Nations command, consisting of contingents made available by interested Member States, including the Russian Federation, to carry out the same functions. UNOMIG would be entrusted with the tasks of monitoring the operations of the force, liaising with the local authorities in Abkhazia and observing developments on the ground. By a preliminary estimate, in this option UNOMIG would require up to 200 military observers, with the necessary civilian support.

On 31 January 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 896 (1994), extended the mandate of UNOMIG until 7 March 1994 within the numbers authorized in resolution 892 (1993), which called for deployment of 50 additional observers. It urged the parties to demonstrate stronger willingness to achieve progress towards a comprehensive political settlement. Declaring its readiness to act before 7 March upon any recommendation to further increase the strength of UNOMIG, the Council requested the Secretary-General to report immediately following the third round of negotiations on whatever progress had been made in the negotiations and on the situation on the ground, with special attention to circumstances which might warrant a peace-keeping force and on the modalities for such a force.

FURTHER POLITICAL EFFORTS

The third round of negotiations, chaired by the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, took place in Geneva from 22 to 25 February 1994. By the final day of the negotiations, the Chairman put forward a draft political declaration, most of which was acceptable to both parties. There remained, however, a significant difference over the issue of the territorial integrity of Georgia and the relationship of Abkhazia to Georgia. The Abkhaz side declined to sign any document that included recognition of Georgia's territorial integrity.

In a separate working group, chaired by UNHCR, agreement was reached on all the text of the draft quadripartite agreement on the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons, except for one phrase referring to whether immunity should apply to persons who had taken part in hostilities and who continued to pose a real threat to security.

Despite every effort to find a compromise, neither of the two documents was signed and the Chairman suspended the third round of negotiations in order to give the parties time for reflection. It was decided that the session should be resumed at United Nations Headquarters in New York on 7 March 1994.

The Secretary-General, in his report submitted to the Security Council on 3 March 1994, stated that the Security Council's requirement for substantive progress in the political negotiations had not yet been met. Furthermore, he reported a new outbreak of hostilities in early February 1994 in the Gali district of Abkhazia.

Having said that the deployment of an international military presence could contribute to much needed stability in the area, the Secretary-General stated, however, that the conditions for making it possible did not exist at that time. He strongly urged the parties to make necessary compromises at the resumed negotiations on 7 March in order to avoid further fighting and to permit planning for a peace-keeping operation. In the meantime, the Secretary-General recommended a short extension of UNOMIG under the existing mandate.

By its resolution 901 (1994) of 4 March, the Security Council decided to extend UNOMIG's mandate for an additional interim period terminating on 31 March 1994.

DIFFERENCES REMAIN

The negotiations were resumed on 7 March in New York and lasted until 9 March. As it had been in previous sessions, representatives of the Russian Federation participated with the status of facilitator. The talks were also attended by representatives of the CSCE and of UNHCR.

Despite three days of intensive discussions, however, the parties to the conflict remained far apart on three major issues: recognition of the territorial integrity of Georgia, the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons, and the role and area of deployment of a possible peace-keeping force.

On 18 March 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that developments in the latest round of negotiations gave no reason to alter the judgment he had expressed earlier, namely that conditions that would make it possible to plan and deploy an international peace-keeping force with an achievable mandate did not exist.

He further stated that the negotiation process was greatly complicated by the absence of any spirit of reconciliation between the two sides. In addition, it had not been possible to identify measures that might create a "more propitious climate for efforts to resolve issues that at present seem intractable". The level of tension in the area remained high and there was an increasing risk of return to war.

The Secretary-General stressed that although conditions for the deployment of a peace-keeping force did not exist and negotiations were suspended, the international community should not abandon its efforts to assist the parties to find the road to peace. He informed the Council of his intention to ask his Special Envoy to resume contacts with the parties, as well as with the Russian Federation. The Secretary-General recommended that the mandate of UNOMIG should be extended for a further three months and that its current strength of 22 military observers should be maintained.

On 25 March 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 906 (1994), urged the parties to resume the negotiations as soon as possible and to achieve substantive progress towards a political settlement, including the political status of Abkhazia, respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia. The Council extended the mandate of UNOMIG for an additional interim period terminating on 30 June 1994.

TWO DOCUMENTS SIGNED

On 4 April 1994, at resumed negotiations held in Moscow, the representatives of the Georgian and Abkhaz sides signed two documents: the "Declaration on measures for a political settlement of the Georgian/Abkhaz conflict" and the "Quadripartite agreement on voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons".

The Security Council, in a statement by its President on 8 April, welcomed this event and supported a further increase in the deployed strength of UNOMIG up to the limit specified in resolution 892 (1993), if the Secretary-General considered that the conditions on the ground made that appropriate. The Council stressed the need for progress on a political settlement in the next round of talks between the Georgian and Abkhaz sides, so that it might consider establishing a peace-keeping force in Abkhazia, Georgia.

Following the signature of the two documents, further negotiations have been held in three areas: repatriation of refugees and displaced persons; the possible establishment of a peace-keeping force; and the achievement of a comprehensive political settlement of the conflict.

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

The fighting in Abkhazia resulted in a massive displacement of civilians. According to inter-agency estimates, some 400,000 persons fled from Abkhazia and either became displaced persons in other regions of Georgia or sought refuge in other countries. The Georgian authorities issued an urgent appeal to Governments for humanitarian assistance. The United Nations Representative in Tbilisi convened a meeting of representatives of the United Nations system, diplomatic community and non-governmental organizations to review the situation and arrange assistance. On 1 October 1993, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs made an emergency appeal, calling particular attention to the need for food, warm clothing, medical supplies and logistic support for the transport of relief supplies. A United Nations relief flight was then organized. The head of the United Nations interim office and a second United Nations official maintained a United Nations presence in Tbilisi to monitor the delivery of humanitarian relief.

A full scale inter-agency needs assessment mission organized by the Department of Humanitarian Affairs visited Georgia in February/March 1994. Representatives of UNHCR, UNICEF, WFP, Food and Agricultural Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Health Organization, the United Nations Volunteers and International Organization for Migration participated. The number of displaced persons was estimated at 270,000. In Abkhazia there was extensive destruction of homes and infrastructure and it was estimated that 75 per cent of the inhabitants had departed. Following the assessment, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs launched a Consolidated Inter-agency Appeal for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia in a total amount of $100 million for all three countries. The principal sectors of assistance were food aid, logistics, health and shelter.

As a result of the signing on 4 April 1994 by Georgian, Abkhazian, Russian and UNHCR representatives of a "Quadripartite agreement on voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons", and after further inter-agency consultation, an addendum to the appeal for Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia was issued. In the addendum, $31 million was requested for food, logistics, shelter and domestic needs in order to promote voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons to the Abkhaz region of Georgia.

COMPOSITION OF UNOMIG

The current authorized strength of UNOMIG is 55 military observers. As of 30 April 1994, the strength of the mission was 21 observers from the following countries:

COUNTRY	OBSERVERS
Bangladesh	3
Denmark	4
Germany	2
Hungary	5
Poland	2
Sweden	3
Switzerland	2
TOTAL	21

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The annual cost to the United Nations of UNOMIG in its present deployment is approximately $5 million. The costs of the observer mission are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the UNOMIG Special Account amounted to approximately $1.5 million.

Note: Data effective as of 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN LIBERIA

LOCATION: Liberia

HEADQUARTERS: Monrovia

DURATION: September 1993 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 303 military observers, 20 military medical personnel, 45 military engineers, 58 United Nations Volunteers, 89 international civilian and 136 local civilian staff

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL: Mr. Trevor Livingston Gordon-Somers (Jamaica)

CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVER: Major-General Daniel Ishmael Opande (Kenya)

BACKGROUND

The United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) is the first United Nations peace-keeping mission undertaken in cooperation with a peace-keeping operation already set up by another organization. Established in September 1993 by the Security Council, UNOMIL works with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)[1/], a subregional organization, in assisting the Liberians to establish peace in the country.

The civil war in Liberia broke out in 1990, when the government headed by President Samuel Doe was overthrown, causing a complete breakdown of law and order in the country. The war claimed the lives of between 100,000 and 150,000 civilians, and displaced scores of others both internally and beyond the borders, resulting in some 700,000 refugees in the neighbouring countries. Liberia was divided, with the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), headed by President Amos Sawyer, administering Monrovia, the country's capital, and its environs; the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by Mr. Charles Taylor, controlling the majority of the country; and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), led by Mr. Alhaji Kromah, having taken control of the remaining areas.

Since the outset of the conflict, ECOWAS has taken various initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement. These included creating a Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) in August 1990, and mediating a series of agreements which became the basis for the peace plan of November 1990. On 30 October 1991, ECOWAS brokered the Yamoussoukro IV Accord which outlined steps to implement the peace plan, including the encampment and disarmament of warring factions under the supervision of an expanded ECOMOG, as well as the establishment of transitional institutions to carry out free and fair elections.

The United Nations, from the beginning of the conflict, has supported the efforts of the ECOWAS member States. In addition, it has provided humanitarian assistance to the affected areas through coordinated activities of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNPF), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the World Health Organization (WHO).

The United Nations Special Coordinator's Office (UNSCOL) opened in December 1990; its operation, initially focusing on the desperate situation in the Monrovia area, was expanded in 1991 to respond to the needs of Liberians throughout the country. Regional arrangements were also made to assist those who fled to the neighbouring countries, mainly Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

UNITED NATIONS ACTIONS ON LIBERIA

The Security Council first took up the question of Liberia on 22 January 1991, when the President of the Council made a statement commending the efforts of the heads of State of ECOWAS and called upon the parties to the conflict to respect the cease-fire agreement. On 7 May 1992, the Council again commended ECOWAS and indicated that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offered the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Liberia.

On 19 November 1992, the Security Council, by adopting resolution 788 (1992), imposed a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia — except for those destined for the sole use of the peace-keeping forces of ECOWAS. The Council also called on the Member States of the United Nations to exert self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the conflict in Liberia, and to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process. Further, it requested the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently a special representative to Liberia who would evaluate the situation and make recommendations as soon as possible.

On 20 November 1992, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Trevor Livingston Gordon-Somers, a national of Jamaica, as his Special Representative for Liberia. Following his appointment, the Special Representative visited Liberia as well as Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

On 12 March 1993, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that the discussions his Special Representative had held with the parties concerned, including the Executive Secretary and member States of ECOWAS, indicated the existence of general consensus that the United Nations should assume a larger role in the search for peace in Liberia. Reaffirming his commitment to a "systematic cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter" and stating his intention to continue working with ECOWAS in the peace process, the Secretary-General outlined three areas in which the United Nations could play a role in Liberia: political reconciliation, humanitarian assistance and electoral assistance.

Further, the Secretary-General proposed that ECOWAS convene a meeting at the summit level where the President of the Interim Government and the warring factions in Liberia would conclude and sign an agreement, reaffirming their commitment to promptly implementing the peace process as envisaged in the Yamoussoukro IV Accord.

On 26 March, the Security Council, by resolution 813 (1993), requested the Secretary-General to consider the possibility of convening a meeting of the Liberian parties to reaffirm their commitment to the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, and also to discuss with ECOWAS and the parties concerned the contribution which the United Nations could make in support of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers.

MASSACRE OF CIVILIANS THREATENS TO DERAIL THE PEACE PROCESS

On the morning of 6 June 1993, nearly 600 Liberians, mainly displaced men, women, children and the elderly, were killed in an armed attack near Harbel, Liberia. In response, the Security Council strongly condemned the killings and warned that those responsible would be held accountable for the serious violations of international humanitarian law, and requested the Secretary-General to commence immediately an investigation into the massacre.

After a preliminary investigation by his Special Representative, the Secretary-General, on 7 August, appointed a Panel of Inquiry composed of Mr. Amos Wako of Kenya as Chairman, and Mr. Robert Gersony of the United States and Mr. Mahmoud Kassem of Egypt as members, to undertake a more comprehensive investigation. In a report dated 10 September 1993, the Panel concluded that the killings were planned and executed by units of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and that NPFL, to which the act of violence had initially been attributed, had no role in it. The Panel named three AFL soldiers who had participated in the massacre, and recommended that criminal investigations be undertaken with a view to prosecuting them. The Panel added, however, that this finding did not mitigate or diminish the responsibility of NPFL, ULIMO and others alleged to have engaged in similar atrocities against unarmed, innocent civilians throughout the conflict. It further recommended investigations into a number of major atrocities attributed to all parties to the Liberian conflict.

PEACE ACCORD IS REACHED

On 25 July 1993, after a three-day meeting held in Cotonou, Benin, under the co-chairmanship of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, President Canaan Banana of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and Mr. Abass Bundu, Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, the parties to the conflict in Liberia signed the Cotonou Peace Agreement. The Agreement laid out a continuum of action, from the cease-fire through disarmament and demobilization to the holding of national elections.

On military aspects, the Agreement provided for a cease-fire to take effect on 1 August 1993, and outlined steps for the encampment, disarmament and demobilization of military units. To ensure against any violation of the cease-fire between 1 August and the arrival of the additional ECOMOG troops as well as the main body of a United Nations observer contingent, the parties agreed to establish a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, comprising representatives of the three Liberian sides, ECOMOG and the United Nations. For that period, the United Nations was asked to consider dispatching 30 advance military observers to participate in the work of the Committee.

On the political side, the parties reaffirmed the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. They agreed that there should be a single Liberian National Transitional Government which would have three branches: legislative, executive and judicial. The Agreement also provided for general and presidential elections to take place within seven months from the signing of the Agreement, and set out the modalities for the elections which will be supervised by a reconstituted Electoral Commission.

On humanitarian issues, the parties agreed that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia using the most direct routes, and under inspection to ensure compliance with the embargo provisions of the Agreement. The United Nations, in particular the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), was requested to facilitate the speedy return of refugees and their reintegration into their communities.

In his 4 August 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General, while recognizing the difficulties ahead, welcomed the Agreement as offering the "hope that the violent and destructive civil war which has afflicted Liberia may at long last be brought to an end." On 10 August, the Security Council, by resolution 856 (1993), authorized the Secretary-General to dispatch an advance team of 30 United Nations military observers to Liberia.

UNOMIL IS ESTABLISHED

On 22 September 1993, the Security Council, by resolution 866 (1993), established the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) for an initial period of seven months. UNOMIL was to work with ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement.

STRUCTURE OF UNOMIL

As in the case of all United Nations peace-keeping operations, UNOMIL is under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General under the authority of the Security Council. It is led in the field by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Mr. Gordon-Somers, and is composed of military and civilian components. Command of the military component is entrusted to the Chief Military Observer, Major-General Daniel Ishmael Opande (Kenya) reporting to the Secretary-General through the Special Representative.

The civilian component includes humanitarian assistance and electoral assistance, as well as the necessary political and administrative staff. The Mission operates out of its headquarters in Monrovia, as well as four regional headquarters, co-located with ECOMOG's four sector headquarters, in the eastern, northern and western regions and Greater Monrovia.

RELATIONSHIP WITH ECOMOG

UNOMIL and ECOMOG work closely together in facilitating the implementation of the military aspects of the Cotonou Peace Agreement. In accordance with the Agreement, ECOMOG has primary responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the Agreement's provisions, and UNOMIL's role is to monitor the implementation procedures in order to verify their impartial application. While UNOMIL and ECOMOG have separate chains of command, the missions consult formally, through the established committees, as well as informally, on matters affecting them both.

Under Security Council resolution 866 (1993), UNOMIL's mandate includes, in addition to military aspects, assistance in the coordination of humanitarian activities, observation and verification of elections, and reporting on any major violations of humanitarian law. UNOMIL keeps ECOMOG informed, as necessary, of the activities it undertakes in pursuance of these aspects of its mandate.

Citing that the cooperation of ECOMOG was critical to UNOMIL's success, the Secretary-General warned that the failure to deploy additional ECOMOG troops or their premature withdrawal would gravely jeopardize the peace process. "In such an event," he declared, "I shall immediately bring the situation to the attention of the Security Council; depending on the prevalent circumstances, I might be obliged to recommend the withdrawal of UNOMIL." The Secretary-General, in his 9 September 1993 report to the Security Council, announced his intention to conclude with ECOWAS a formal agreement defining the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG. Such an agreement was concluded in November 1993.

UNOMIL MILITARY COMPONENT

The military component of UNOMIL monitors and verifies compliance with the cease-fire, the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment, as well as the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants.

As a way of providing ECOMOG with sufficient means to ensure the implementation of the Agreement, and with the support of the Security Council, the Secretary-General established a trust fund, under the auspices of the United Nations, that can be utilized to enable African countries to send reinforcements to ECOMOG, to provide necessary assistance to countries already participating in ECOMOG, and for humanitarian assistance, elections and demobilization.

UNOMIL CIVILIAN COMPONENT

The civilian component includes political, humanitarian, and electoral personnel. The humanitarian assistance element works closely with the United Nations Emergency Unit, United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations in assisting relief activities and facilitating the return of refugees, the resettlement of displaced persons and the reintegration of ex-combatants.

The electoral assistance element will observe and verify the entire election process, from the registration of voters until the voting itself. The work is to be carried out by 13 Professionals, 40 United Nations Volunteers and necessary support staff. The Liberian National Transitional Government, through the Liberian Elections Commission consisting of representatives of the three Liberian parties, is to be responsible for organizing and holding elections, which were originally scheduled for February/March 1994.

Several potential bottlenecks to the holding of elections include operationalizing the Electoral Commission, repatriating refugees, settling internally displaced population, and completing demobilization. Expressing concern over whether the electoral process could be completed in time, the Secretary-General, in his September 1993 report to the Security Council, called on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully with ECOMOG and UNOMIL, and to work together in a spirit of national reconciliation. "Only under these conditions," he added, "will it be possible to hold the elections on schedule in February/March 1994, and to enable the people of Liberia to begin the arduous task of rebuilding their ravaged country and to look forward to a future of peace, stability and well-being."

DELAYS IN IMPLEMENTATION

In establishing UNOMIL the Security Council stipulated that the mission would continue beyond 16 December 1993 only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General on whether or not substantive progress had been made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures at establishing a lasting peace.

The Secretary-General reported to the Council on 13 December 1993. He noted that on 17 August 1993, following consultations between the Liberian parties, the five members of the Council of State had been selected. The swearing in of the Council, however, did not take place as it was awaiting the beginning of disarmament, the start of which, in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement, was dependent on the expansion of ECOMOG and the parties providing necessary information on the number and location of their combatants, weapons and mines.

The Chairman of ECOWAS, President Nicéphore Dieudonné Soglo of Benin, arranged for consultations among the parties at a meeting in Cotonou from 3 to 5 November 1993. At this meeting the parties agreed on the distribution between them of 13 of a total of 17 cabinet posts. The distribution of the remaining 4 ministerial portfolios, as well as other issues related to the installation of the Transitional Government would await further talks. The parties also reached agreement on the composition of the Elections Commission, on the Speaker of the Legislature and the members of the Supreme Court.

As to the deployment of UNOMIL, the Secretary-General reported that following the adoption of Security Council resolution 856 (1993) on 10 August 1993, the advance party of military observers began arriving in Liberia. The Chief Military Observer arrived in the country on 10 October 1993 and by mid-December there were 166 UNOMIL military observers. UNOMIL was fully deployed by the end of December.

In accordance with the Peace Agreement, a Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee, composed of representatives of the Liberian parties and ECOMOG and chaired by the United Nations, was established. Its function was to monitor, investigate and report all cease-fire violations between the period of its coming into force on 1 August 1993 and the arrival of the additional ECOMOG troops and the full contingent of UNOMIL. In addition to regular patrolling and cease-fire monitoring through the Joint Committee, UNOMIL military observers were conducting reconnaissance missions in cooperation with ECOMOG in many areas of the country in preparation for their deployment to these areas and in preparation for disarmament and demobilization.

Throughout the negotiations leading to the Cotonou Agreement in July 1993, the expansion of ECOMOG was viewed as a crucial prerequisite for progress towards a lasting peace in Liberia. On 30 September 1993, the United States pledged $19.83 million to the Trust Fund, exclusively to meet the cost of deployment, equipment and maintenance needs of the expanded ECOMOG troops. On the basis of consultations with potential troop contributing countries and discussions with ECOMOG, and in accordance with the terms of reference of the Trust Fund, a budget estimate covering the requirements of the expanded ECOMOG battalions was developed.

The Secretary-General informed the Security Council that planning and preparation for disarmament and demobilization which had been undertaken by UNOMIL in consultation with the Liberian parties, ECOMOG, United Nations specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations, was well under way. In accordance with the Peace Agreement, the commencement of actual disarmament was linked to the expansion of ECOMOG which had been delayed. The Secretary-General hoped that the additional ECOMOG troops would soon be deployed to Liberia, thus enabling the disarmament and demobilization to start immediately.

On the question of general and presidential elections, the Secretary-General reported that the United Nations and the International Foundation for Election System had undertaken a joint mission to Liberia in October 1993 to assess the requirements for holding elections and to evaluate the probability of maintaining the timetable set out in the Peace Agreement. The mission concluded that this timetable, which provided for holding elections in February/March 1994, was optimistic but that elections could possibly be held in May 1994, on the assumption that disarmament and demobilization, installation of the Transitional Government and unification of the country were achieved "expeditiously".

In concluding his 13 December 1993 report, the Secretary-General noted that from the beginning of the peace process in Liberia, all parties had been aware that the timetable, which called for disarmament to begin within 30 days of signature of the Agreement, concomitant with the establishment of the Transitional Government, was "highly ambitious, especially given the complexities in establishing the joint UNOMIL/ECOMOG peace-keeping mission, including the deployment of additional ECOMOG troops". In spite of delays in the implementation of the Agreement, there were no major violations of the cease-fire and the Liberian parties displayed a willingness to move the peace process forward. The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council agree that UNOMIL should continue to implement the mandate entrusted to it under resolution 866 (1993). However, he indicated that it was unlikely that the original timetable for elections would be met.

In a letter dated 16 December 1993 from the President of the Security Council to the Secretary-General, the members of the Council took note of the Secretary-General's report and informed him that they shared his expectation that, despite the unavoidable delays, disarmament would begin presently, the Transitional Government would soon be installed and the elections would be held in the first half of 1994. The Council looked forward to the next Secretary-General's report on or before 16 February 1994.

INTER-AGENCY APPEAL

On 16 December 1993, the United Nations launched a Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for $284 million for emergency humanitarian assistance to Liberia covering a broad spectrum of activities to facilitate Liberia's transition from a war-torn nation to a peaceful and democratic State. United Nations agencies had identified priority needs, amounting to $96.41 million through the first quarter of 1994. The total appeal for $284 million was for 13 months, through December 1994.

In the Appeal, WFP had estimated that 65,000 tons of food would be needed to meet emergency requirements through March 1994 at a cost of approximately $34 million. This covered a beneficiary population of 1.5 million in Liberia. For health and medical care, WHO would require some $6.4 million. UNICEF had identified priority programmes costing $17 million. UNHCR had made an appeal for over $60 million for the voluntary repatriation of some 700,000 Liberian refugees. FAO would need $8.8 million and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement would require $3.5 million.

DIFFICULTIES REMAIN

In December 1993, the Liberian parties resumed their talks on the composition of the Transitional Government. After two weeks of intense negotiations, however, they failed to reach agreement on the disposition of the four remaining ministerial portfolios, i.e. Defence, Foreign Affairs, Justice and Finance. They were also unable to agree on the date for the seating of the Transitional Government and for the beginning of encampment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants.

UNOMIL attained its total authorized strength in early January 1994 and began deployment of its military observers throughout Liberia. As to the expansion of ECOMOG, the battalions from the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda arrived in Monrovia on 8 January and 28 January 1994 respectively and started preparations for deployment to the northern and eastern regions of the country.

In a letter dated 18 January 1994, the President of the Security Council expressed the concern of the Council that the Transitional Government had not yet been installed, disarmament had not yet commenced, the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement was thus being delayed and efforts to deliver humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country had met with difficulties. He further noted that the continued support of the international community for the efforts of UNOMIL would depend on the full and prompt implementation by the parties of the Agreement.

The Secretary-General's Special Representative held bilateral consultations with each of the three Liberian parties and relayed to them the message of the Security Council, namely that the Council expected to see tangible progress in the peace process. The parties reiterated their willingness to cooperate in the effective implementation of the Peace Agreement.

Following the arrival of the additional battalions, consultations with ECOMOG and the parties on the date for disarmament intensified. Ten encampment sites were identified, two for the Armed Forces of Liberia, four for NPFL/NPRAG and another four for ULIMO. The parties agreed that the disarmament of their forces would commence simultaneously and was likely to continue over a two–to–three–month period. At the same time, UNOMIL had developed a plan for the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian society, covering the continuum from military disarmament to reintegration into civilian society and involving the coordination of activities to be implemented by United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations.

In his report to the Security Council on 14 February 1994, the Secretary-General stated that the impasse in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement had resulted from differing views among the parties on the date for the installation of the Transitional Government and the commencement of disarmament. He believed, however, that the remaining outstanding issues impeding the implementation were not insurmountable. The Secretary-General therefore urged the Liberian parties to make a renewed and determined effort to reach consensus and cooperate in good faith with UNOMIL and ECOMOG. He also urged the international community to contribute the necessary logistical and financial resources to both the existing and expanded ECOMOG troops in order to enable it to meet its obligations under the Cotonou Agreement. In order to enable United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide humanitarian assistance to all areas of the country, the Secretary-General called upon the parties to create the necessary conditions to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Liberia.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT INSTALLED

On 23 February 1994, the Secretary-General reported that the Liberian parties, at a meeting held at Monrovia on 15 February, "reached agreement on most of the outstanding issues which had impeded the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the Transitional Government ... It was also agreed that free and fair elections would be held on 7 September 1994".

Although the question of the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts was not resolved at that meeting, the parties agreed that disarmament would commence on 7 March 1994 and that installation of the Transitional Government would take place on the same day.

On 25 February 1994, the Security Council, in a statement by its President, welcomed the agreement and urged the parties to demonstrate maximum flexibility and spare no effort to resolve quickly their differences on the disposition of the Cabinet posts. Having expressed concern at the delays in implementing the commitments entered into by the parties under the Cotonou Agreement, the Council said that the support of the international community would not continue in the absence of tangible progress towards full and prompt implementation of the Agreement, in particular, the revised timetable.

On 8 March 1994, the Permanent Representative of Liberia to the United Nations informed the Secretary-General that the Council of State of the Transitional Government had been installed in Monrovia on 7 March 1994. Three demobilization centres were opened on the same day. On 11 March, the Transitional Legislative Assembly was inducted into office, with ULIMO being given the responsibility for naming the Speaker of the Assembly. The Supreme Court of Liberia opened for the 1994 term on 14 March.

Immediately prior to the installation of the Council of State, a dispute arose in the ULIMO leadership, resulting in an outbreak of fighting among ULIMO forces along ethnic lines. However, the Head of State of Sierra Leone succeeded in reconciling the ULIMO leaders.

In his 7 March acceptance speech, the Chairman of the Council of the State confirmed that the holding of elections on 7 September 1994 was a foremost concern of the Transitional Government. The Elections Commission has intensified its organizational work in order to finalize a calendar of activities leading up to the elections and submitted a draft electoral budget to the Council of State for its consideration. It estimated that $13.7 million would be required for the electoral process, of which the Transitional Government would attempt to provide some $8.5 million and would seek international support for the remaining $5.2 million.

DEPLOYMENT OF UNOMIL AND ECOMOG

Meanwhile, UNOMIL has proceeded with deployment throughout the country. By April 1994, the Mission had deployed its military observers in 27 team sites out of a total of 39 projected sites. Four regional headquarters have been established and are operational at Monrovia (central region), Tubmanburg (western region), Gbarnga (northern region) and Tapeta (eastern region). The military observers are engaged in the patrolling of border crossings and other entry points, observation and verification of disarmament and demobilization and the investigation of cease-fire violations.

ECOMOG has deployed into the western (Tubmanburg) and northern (Gbarnga) regions. Deployment of both UNOMIL and ECOMOG in Upper Lofa has been impeded by insecurity in the area. Likewise, deployment in the south-east has been curtailed by the activities of the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), which emerged in the south-eastern part of Liberia after the Cotonou Agreement was signed in July 1993. UNOMIL and ECOMOG are currently engaged in consultations with ULIMO and with the NPFL and LPC in order to reach agreement on further deployment in the western and south-eastern regions.

Three demobilization centres, one for each of the warring parties, were opened on 7 March 1994. It is reported that the total number of combatants of all factions is approximately 60,000 soldiers. In the first month of disarmament, more than 2,000 combatants, from all parties, were disarmed and demobilized. Owing to political difficulties, however, disarmament has been slower than anticipated. Assuming the full cooperation of the parties, it has been estimated that disarmament could be completed in two months.

Following the deployment of UNOMIL and ECOMOG, the Joint Cease-fire Monitoring Committee has been replaced by a Violations Committee, chaired by the UNOMIL Chief Military Observer. The Committee is the body through which UNOMIL and ECOMOG address issues of cease-fire violations with the parties.

EXTENSION OF MANDATE RECOMMENDED

In his 18 April 1994 progress report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General noted that the Liberian parties had achieved progress in their search for peace with the installation of the Council of State and the start of disarmament, and the agreement to hold free and fair elections on 7 September 1994.

However, a number of obstacles impeding the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement still existed, including the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts, the question of allocation of posts to head the public corporations and autonomous agencies, continued military conflict involving various parties, and the slow pace of the disarmament and demobilization process. A number of issues in the electoral process must also be addressed, including voter education, the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons and the mobilization of resources required for the elections.

The Secretary-General urged the parties to make concerted efforts and to cooperate with one another in order to overcome the remaining impediments to the full installation of the Transitional Government. At the same time, taking into account the progress made thus far in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, he recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a further period of six months, which would include the elections scheduled for September 1994. Provision must also be made for the liquidation phase of the Mission, which would end by 31 December 1994. The Secretary-General stated, however, that if the disposition of the four remaining ministries was not resolved within two weeks, and if there was no further progress in the peace process within this period, he would request the Council to review the mandate of UNOMIL.

MANDATE EXTENDED

The Security Council met to consider the Secretary-General's progress report on 21 April 1994. At the meeting, the representative of Liberia informed the Council that on 19 April 1994 the Ministers of Defence, Finance and Justice had been designated and that the Minister for Foreign Affairs would be appointed soon.

By its resolution 911 (1994), the Council extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 22 October 1994, on the understanding that it would review by 18 May 1994 the situation in Liberia and UNOMIL's role there. That review would be based on whether the Transitional Government had been fully installed, and whether there had been substantial progress in implementing the peace process. The Council decided to conduct a further review by 30 June 1994. That review would focus on the effective operation of the Transitional Government, progress in disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September.

The Security Council called on the Liberian parties to give urgent priority to the complete installation, by 18 May 1994, of the Transitional Government, especially the seating of the full Cabinet and the Transitional National Assembly, so that a unified civil administration of the country could be established and appropriate arrangements completed for national elections to be held on 7 September.

By other terms of the resolution, the Council urged the parties to cease hostilities immediately and cooperate with ECOMOG to complete the disarmament process. It also encouraged Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement or to provide other assistance to facilitate the work of ECOMOG, and to assist in humanitarian, development and electoral assistance. The Council called once again on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country in accordance with the Cotonou Peace Agreement.

COMPOSITION OF UNOMIL

The authorized strength of UNOMIL is 303 military observers, 20 military medical personnel and 45 military engineers provided by the following countries:

COUNTRY	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Austria		11
Bangladesh	65	53
China		15
Czech Republic		15
Egypt		15
Guinea Bissau		20
India		20
Jordan		40
Kenya		20
Malaysia		25
Pakistan		41
Slovak Republic		10
Uruguay		20
TOTAL	65	305

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

The civilian component of the mission includes 89 international personnel, 58 United Nations Volunteers and 136 local staff.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The rough annual cost of UNOMIL to the United Nations is approximately $65 million. The costs of the operation are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. As at 30 April 1994, contributions outstanding to the UNOMIL Special Account amounted to approximately $25 million.

With regard to the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, as at 31 March 1994, voluntary contributions received amounted to $15.12 million from the Governments of Denmark, United Kingdom and United States.

NOTES

1/ ECOWAS membership: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo.

Note: Data effective 30 April 1994

UNITED NATIONS MISSION IN HAITI

LOCATION: Haiti

HEADQUARTERS: Port-au-Prince

DURATION: September 1993 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 700 military personnel, 567 police monitors, 99 international and 271 local civilian staff

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HEAD OF MISSION: Mr. Dante Caputo (Argentina)

BACKGROUND

The President of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was democratically elected on 16 December 1990 by 67 per cent of Haitian voters. He took office on 7 February 1991. The validity of the election was upheld by the United Nations, the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Caribbean community.

It was hoped that the election would put an end to a long period encompassing the dictatorship of François and Jean-Claude Duvalier followed by five years of political instability under five different regimes, and mark the beginning of an era of democracy and economic and social progress. However, on 30 September 1991, President Aristide was overthrown in a coup d'état, headed by Lieutenant-General Raoul Cédras, and forced into exile.

EARLY REGIONAL EFFORTS

The violent and unconstitutional actions of the Haitian military forces were immediately and strongly condemned by the international community. On the same day, while the whereabouts of President Aristide were still unknown, the Permanent Council of OAS condemned the *coup d'état* and its perpetrators. It demanded adherence to the Constitution and respect for the legitimate Government, the physical safety of the President and the rights of the Haitian people. It also called for the reinstatement of the President.

That same day, then United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar made a statement in which he expressed the hope that calm would soon be restored and that the democratic process would be pursued in accordance with the Constitution. The President of the Security Council associated himself with the statement.

Meeting on 2 October, the OAS Ministers for Foreign Affairs heard a statement by President Aristide, and on 3 October they adopted a resolution demanding his immediate reinstatement. The Ministers recommended the diplomatic, economic and financial isolation of the de facto authorities and the suspension of any aid except that provided for strictly humanitarian purposes. They decided to dispatch a mission to Haiti and urged the United Nations to consider the spirit and aims of the resolution.

On 3 October, President Aristide addressed the United Nations Security Council. The President of the Council made a statement condemning the coup, calling for the restoration of the legitimate Government, supporting the efforts of OAS and expressing the hope that the President of Haiti would soon return to his country and resume his functions.

On 4 October, a high-level OAS delegation arrived in Haiti and met with representatives of various groups within the country. The delegation's negotiations with the High Command of the Haitian Armed Forces were interrupted on 7 October, when soldiers ordered the delegation members to leave the country.

On 7 October, the two Chambers of the Haitian Parliament, under pressure from the military, named an "Acting President", who in turn appointed, on 10 October, a "Prime Minister".

The OAS Ministers of Foreign Affairs adopted, on 8 October, a second resolution in which they condemned the decision to replace the President illegally and declared unacceptable any Government that might result from that situation. They urged OAS member States to freeze the financial assets of the Haitian State and to impose a trade embargo on Haiti, except for humanitarian aid. The Ministers called upon the Member States of the United Nations to adopt the same measures. They also decided to constitute, at the request of President Aristide, a civilian mission, known as OEA/DEMOC, to re-establish and strengthen constitutional democracy in Haiti.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTS

On 11 October 1991, the United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus resolution 46/7, in which it condemned the illegal replacement of the constitutional President of Haiti, the use of violence and military coercion and the violation of human rights in Haiti; affirmed as unacceptable any entity resulting from that illegal situation; and demanded the immediate restoration of the legitimate Government of President Aristide, the application of the Constitution and thus the full observance of human rights in Haiti.

The Assembly appealed to Member States to take measures in support of the OAS resolutions and emphasized that, when constitutional order was restored in Haiti, increased cooperation would be necessary to support the country's development efforts in order to strengthen its democratic institutions. The Assembly also requested the United Nations Secretary-General to consider providing the support sought by the OAS Secretary-General in implementing the mandates arising from the OAS resolutions.

SPECIAL ENVOY APPOINTED

The United Nations Secretary-General actively supported the intensive efforts by OAS and its mediator at the time, Mr. Ramírez Ocampo, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, aimed at finding a political solution to the Haitian crisis.

On July 15 1992, newly elected Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali informed the Security Council that he had accepted the offer of the Secretary-General of OAS, Mr. João Baena Soares, to include a United Nations participation in a mission to Haiti. The high-level mission led by the OAS Secretary-General visited Haiti from 18 to 21 August 1992. On 10 September, the United Nations Secretary-General informed the Council that his representative had taken part in the OAS mission and that the Haitian parties did not seem to have come closer together. He also reported that OAS was planning to deploy a first group of observers in Haiti and that it had decided to maintain the economic embargo. He concluded by saying that he intended to continue cooperating with OAS and stood ready to lend any other assistance.

On 3 November, the Secretary-General, in a report to the General Assembly, reviewed the efforts made by the international community to resolve the Haitian crisis. He also cited reports of a pattern of gross and widespread human rights abuses during the year since the coup d'état in Haiti. As a result of the deteriorating political, economic and humanitarian situation, thousands of Haitians were fleeing their country.

On 24 November 1992, the General Assembly adopted resolution 47/20, in which, inter alia, it again demanded the restoration of the legitimate Government of President Aristide, together with the full application of the National Constitution and the full observance of human rights, and requested the Secretary-General to take the "necessary measures", in order to assist, in cooperation with OAS, in the solution of the Haitian crisis.

Following the adoption of the resolution, the Secretary-General, on 11 December 1992, appointed Mr. Dante Caputo, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Argentina, as his Special Envoy for Haiti. On 13 January 1993, the OAS Secretary-General also appointed Mr. Caputo as his Special Envoy.

FURTHER DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS

The Special Envoy held a series of preliminary consultations between 17 and 22 December 1992 in Washington, D.C., with President Aristide, and at Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti, with the Coordinator and members of the Presidential Commission, with the Commander-in-Chief of the Haitian Armed Forces, Lieutenant-General Raoul Cédras, with the then Prime Minister of the de facto Government, Mr. Marc Bazin,[1/] and with the Presidents of the two Chambers of the National Assembly of Haiti. Further discussions were held with President Aristide in early January 1993.

On 8 January 1993, President Aristide, in a letter addressed to the Secretary-General, requested, among other things, the following: (a) the deployment by the United Nations and OAS of an international civilian mission to monitor respect for human rights and the elimination of all forms of violence; and (b) the establishment of a process of dialogue among the Haitian parties, under the auspices of the Special Envoy, with a view to reaching agreements for the solution of the political crisis, the designation of a Prime Minister by the President to lead a Government of national concord aimed at the full restoration of democratic order in Haiti; agreements for the rehabilitation of Haitian institutions, including the reform of the judicial system, the professionalization of the armed forces and the separation of the police from the armed forces; international technical assistance for national reconstruction; and a system of guarantees to ensure a lasting solution. An identical letter was addressed to the Secretary-General of OAS.

After further meetings at Port-au-Prince on 16 and 17 January 1993, the Special Envoy received two letters, one from Lieutenant-General Cédras and the other from Mr. Bazin, accepting in principle an international civilian mission and a dialogue among the Haitian parties to resolve the political crisis in the country.

In a letter dated 18 January 1993 to President Aristide, the Secretary-General agreed to the United Nations participation in the International Civilian Mission for verifying respect for human rights and the eradication of all forms of violence in Haiti, subject to the approval of the General Assembly and under terms to be agreed jointly with OAS.

In the meantime, faced with the announcement by the de facto Government of Haiti that it was proceeding with the holding of elections for a third of the Senate, the Permanent Council of OAS adopted, on 13 January 1993, a declaration repudiating the proposed elections and declaring them to be "illegitimate" and obstructive of the efforts under way by OAS and the United Nations towards restoring the democratic institutional framework in Haiti. The United Nations Secretary-General supported the OAS declaration. However, his request to the de facto Haitian authorities that the elections be cancelled was not heeded.

CIVILIAN MISSION ESTABLISHED

Following the Special Envoy's consultations with the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and of OAS concerning the mandate of the International Civilian Mission (MICIVIH) and the modalities of its operations, the joint ideas were presented to and agreed upon by President Aristide. The terms of the agreement regarding the Mission were subsequently incorporated in an exchange of letters between the de facto Prime Minister, Mr. Bazin, and the Special Envoy on 9 February 1993.

Under the agreement, MICIVIH would verify respect for human rights as laid down in the Haitian Constitution and in the international instruments to which Haiti is a party, in particular, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the American Convention on Human Rights. The Mission would devote special attention to the observance of the rights to life, to the integrity and security of the person, to personal liberty, to freedom of expression and to freedom of association. The Mission would be entitled to receive communications relating to alleged human rights violations, to visit freely any place or establishment, to enjoy entire freedom of movement within Haitian territory, to interview anybody freely and privately, to make recommendations to the authorities and verify their follow-up, to undertake a public information and education campaign on human rights and to use the mass media to the extent useful for the fulfilment of its mandate. It would be understood that the Mission is authorized to resort to other international procedures for the promotion and protection of human rights.

The agreement also provided that once the Mission had been deployed, the Special Envoy would undertake discussions regarding ways and means through which the United Nations and OAS might assist in reinforcing democracy, accelerating economic development and professionalizing national institutions, in particular, the judicial system, the armed forces and the police.

In his 24 March 1993 report to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General recommended that the Assembly establish the United Nations component of the joint International Civilian Mission in Haiti. The United Nations component of the Mission would comprise some 200 international staff, including 133 human rights observers. OAS would provide another 133 international observers, plus other required personnel for its component. The report also contained the proposals submitted by the team of three international human rights experts, which had visited Haiti from 15 to 22 February 1993, including its recommendations on the deployment of the Mission throughout Haiti, the modalities of its operation and its needs in terms of personnel and resources.

On 20 April 1993, the General Assembly adopted, without a vote, its resolution 47/20B approving the Secretary-General's report and authorizing the United Nations participation, jointly with OAS, in the International Civilian Mission to Haiti. The Assembly reiterated the need for an early return of President Aristide to resume his constitutional functions as President and strongly supported the process of political dialogue under the auspices of the Special Envoy with a view to resolving the political crisis in Haiti. It reiterated that any entity resulting from actions of the de facto regime, including the partial elections to the Parliament in January 1993, was illegitimate.

By other provisions of the resolution, the General Assembly considered that any modifications regarding the economic measures recommended by the ad hoc meeting of the OAS Foreign Ministers should be considered according to progress in the observance of human rights and in the solution of the political crisis. It reaffirmed the international community's commitment to increased technical, economic and financial cooperation when constitutional order is restored in Haiti, in order to strengthen institutions responsible for dispensing justice and guaranteeing democracy, political stability and economic development.

Pending the General Assembly's approval, the United Nations Secretary-General dispatched to Haiti on 13 February 1993 an advance team and a survey group to prepare for the deployment of the United Nations component of the Mission. On 14 February, an initial group of 40 observers from OAS arrived in Haiti, where they joined forces with a small team of OAS observers that had been in Port-au-Prince since September 1992.

The Mission operates under a Head of Mission, appointed jointly by the United Nations and OAS and reporting to the Special Envoy. Its headquarters was established at Port-au-Prince with 14 regional offices and sub-offices across the country. Deployment in the provinces began on 5 March 1993. By the end of March, the Mission had a team in each of the nine departments of the country. It has been estimated that the financial requirements for the United Nations participation in the Mission in 1993 would amount to approximately $24 million.

On 3 June 1993, MICIVIH submitted its first report on the human rights situation in Haiti. The report, which was of an interim nature, concentrated on such issues as violations of the right to integrity and security of person linked to violations of the right to freedom of expression and association; deaths in detention, disappearances and arbitrary executions; and other violations of the right to physical integrity and individual security.

OIL AND ARMS EMBARGO IMPOSED

In the meantime, the Secretary-General's Special Envoy conducted consultations with the parties concerned aimed at seeking a political solution to the Haitian crisis. The immediate objective of those consultations was to achieve agreement on three main issues, namely the return of President Aristide to Haiti, the appointment of a Prime Minister to head a Government of national concord and the resolution of the question of amnesty.

Other critical issues included technical assistance for the economic and institutional reconstruction of the country, the nature and duration of the international presence in Haiti, coupled with international guarantees to ensure compliance with the agreements.

Despite the mounting international pressure, however, the negotiating process undertaken by Mr. Caputo was rejected by the de facto authorities and the military command in Haiti when they refused to accept the key elements of the proposed framework for a settlement.

On 7 June 1993, the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council, in which he stated that despite the efforts of the international community, constitutional order had not yet been re-established in Haiti because the de facto authorities continued to obstruct all initiatives. In light of that situation, the letter went on, the Government of Haiti requested the Security Council to make universal and mandatory the sanctions against the de facto authorities adopted at the meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of OAS and recommended in the General Assembly resolutions, giving priority to an embargo on petroleum products and the supply of arms and munitions.

On 16 June, the Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, unanimously adopted resolution 841 (1993), by which it decided to impose an oil and arms embargo against Haiti as part of the continuing international effort to restore constitutional rule to that country. The President of the Council, in a statement on behalf of its members, said that the adoption of the resolution was warranted by the unique and exceptional situation in Haiti and should not be regarded as constituting a precedent.

The Council decided that the sanctions would enter into force on 23 June 1993 unless the Secretary-General, having regard to the views of the Secretary-General of OAS, reported to the Council that, in the light of the results of negotiations, the measures were no longer warranted. At any time after such reporting, should the de facto authorities in Haiti fail to comply in good faith with their undertakings in those negotiations, the sanctions measures would enter into force immediately.

The resolution obliged States to prevent the sale or supply, by their nationals or from their territories or using their flag vessels or aircraft, of petroleum or petroleum products or arms and related matériel including military vehicles, police equipment and their spare parts, to any person or body in Haiti. States were also to prevent any activities by their nationals or in their territories which promote or are calculated to promote such sale or supply. States were also required to freeze all funds in the name of the Government of Haiti or the de facto authorities there, as well as those funds controlled directly or indirectly by the two wherever located or organized.

GOVERNORS ISLAND AGREEMENT

On 21 June 1993, the Special Envoy, Mr. Caputo, received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief of the Haitian Armed Forces, Lieutenant-General Cédras, accepting the Special Envoy's earlier invitation to him to initiate a dialogue with President Aristide with a view to resolving the Haitian crisis.

On 3 July, after almost a week of talks on Governors Island, New York City, President Aristide and Lieutenant-General Cédras signed an agreement containing arrangements which the parties felt paved the way to a "satisfactory solution to the Haitian crisis and the beginning of a process of national reconciliation".

Under the Agreement, President Aristide was to appoint a new Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces to replace Lieutenant-General Cédras, who would take early retirement. President Aristide was to return to Haiti on 30 October 1993. The parties agreed to a political dialogue, under the auspices of the United Nations and OAS, between representatives of political parties represented in the Parliament, with the participation of representatives of the Presidential Commission. The objectives of the political dialogue were to reach a political truce and promote a social pact to create conditions necessary to ensure a peaceful transition; to establish procedures to enable the Haitian Parliament to resume its normal functioning; to reach an agreement enabling the Parliament to confirm the Prime Minister as speedily as possible; and to reach an agreement permitting the adoption of the laws necessary for ensuring the transition. The parties further agreed that the President would nominate a Prime Minister, to be confirmed by the legally reconstituted Parliament. Following his confirmation and assumption of office, all United Nations and OAS sanctions were to be suspended. Other provisions dealt with issues of amnesty, the creation of a new police force and international cooperation.

The Agreement specifically requested the presence of United Nations personnel in Haiti to assist in modernizing the armed forces and establishing the new police force. The Secretary-General, after consultation with the constitutional Government of Haiti, was to report to the Security Council with his recommendations on that aspect of the implementation of the Agreement. The United Nations and OAS were called upon to verify the fulfilment of all the commitments set out in the Agreement. The Secretary-General entrusted the verification to his Special Envoy and asked him to report regularly to him and to the Secretary-General of OAS.

NEW YORK PACT

On 14 July 1993, representatives of political forces and parliamentary blocs, together with the members of the Presidential Commission which represents President Aristide in Haiti, began the inter-Haitian political dialogue under the auspices of the United Nations and OAS.

At the conclusion of the talks in New York on 16 July, the parties signed a new document, known as the New York Pact, which provided for a six-month truce "to guarantee a smooth and peaceful transition" in their country. In agreeing to the truce, the parties undertook to promote and guarantee respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and to refrain from any action that might lead to violence or disrupt the transition to democracy. They also undertook not to table motions of no-confidence against the new Government of national concord, in so far as it respected the Constitution and the laws of the Republic, or to obstruct the work of the Parliament.

The signatories invited President Aristide to appoint a new Prime Minister as soon as possible, and undertook to ensure that laws necessary for the transition of power were passed on the basis of an emergency procedure. They agreed that the members of Parliament elected as a result of the contested elections of 18 January 1993 would voluntarily refrain from occupying their parliamentary seats until the Conciliation Commission had rendered its verdict on this issue.

The United Nations and OAS agreed to make two experts available to help prepare and implement an act establishing the Conciliation Commission.

SUSPENSION OF THE SANCTIONS

In his letter to the Secretary-General on 15 July, the President of the Security Council confirmed the readiness of the Council to suspend the sanctions imposed against Haiti under Security Council resolution 841 (1993) immediately after the Prime Minister had been ratified and had assumed the functions of that office in Haiti. It was agreed that provisions would be made for the automatic termination of such suspension if the parties to the Agreement or any authorities in Haiti failed to comply in good faith with the Agreement. The Council also declared its readiness to terminate the sanctions, upon receipt of a report from the United Nations Secretary-General immediately after the return of President Aristide to Haiti.

On 25 August 1993, the Haitian Parliament ratified the appointment by President Aristide of Mr. Robert Malval as Prime Minister-designate. This led the Security Council, on the Secretary-General's recommendation, to suspend immediately oil and embargo sanctions against Haiti. The Council did so by unanimously adopting resolution 861 (1993) of 27 August in which it also confirmed its readiness to reimpose sanctions if the terms of the Governors Island Agreement were not fully implemented.

PEACE-KEEPING MISSION PROPOSED

The Governors Island Agreement included provision for United Nations assistance for modernizing the armed forces of Haiti and establishing a new police force. In his 25 August report to the Security

Council, the Secretary-General outlined his plans in this regard.

The Secretary-General recommended the dispatch to Haiti of a mission consisting of 567 civilian police monitors, 60 military trainers and a military construction unit for an initial period of six months.

Although the Haitian Constitution provides for a police force separate from the Armed Forces, the responsibilities of the Armed Forces of Haiti have included both military and police functions. The Secretary-General said that, pending the creation of a new police force, United Nations civilian police monitors would help the Government in monitoring the activities of those members of the Armed Forces involved in carrying out police functions, provide guidance and advice, monitor the conduct of police operations, and ensure that legal requirements were fully met.

As to the modernization of the Armed Forces, the Secretary-General stated that the military training teams would provide training to officers and non-commissioned officers in non-lethal skills in order to prepare them for what would become their primary mission, including disaster relief, search and rescue, and surveillance of borders and coastal waters.

The military construction unit would work with the Haitian military in such areas as conversion of certain military facilities to civilian use and renovation of medical facilities.

The Secretary-General said that the mission would be headed by a Special Representative of the Secretary-General, namely the Special Envoy, Mr. Dante Caputo, who would also oversee the activities of the International Civilian Mission and who would coordinate the activities of the two missions.

On 31 August, the Security Council, by its resolution 862 (1993), approved the dispatch of an advance team to prepare for the possible deployment of the proposed United Nations mission to Haiti.

UNMIH

An advance team, headed by Mr. Caputo, travelled to Haiti on 8 September 1993. On the basis of the Team's findings, the Secretary-General submitted to the Council, on 21 September, a report containing further clarifications, including an estimate of the cost and scope of the mission, a time-frame for its implementation and conclusion, as well as recommendations on ensuring coordination between the United Nations and OAS.

In analysing the political situation in Haiti, the Secretary-General noted that both sides continued to be divided by deep mistrust and suspicion. The political and social climate in the country continued to be characterized by widespread violations of human rights and by other instances of violence. The Secretary-General shared the view of his Special Envoy that in these circumstances there was an "urgent need to demonstrate through concrete steps the commitment of the international community to the solution of the Haitian crisis". He recommended, therefore, that the Security Council approve the establishment of the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH) for an initial period of six months.

On 23 September, the Security Council, by its resolution 867 (1993), authorized the establishment and immediate dispatch of UNMIH for a period of six months. Extension of the mandate of the Mission beyond seventy-five days was made contingent upon a review by the Security Council of substantive progress towards the implementation of political agreements reached. The Council called upon all factions in Haiti to renounce publicly violence as a means of political expression.

DEPLOYMENT PREVENTED

In accordance with resolution 867 (1993) and after necessary preparations and consultations, the advance team of UNMIH consisting of 53 military and 51 police personnel was deployed in Port-au-Prince in the period September-October 1993. However, when the ship, Harlan County, carrying 220 personnel of the United Nations military contingent arrived in Port-au-Prince on 11 October, armed civilians (known as "attachés") created disturbances in the area of the seaport and prevented the ship from landing. In addition, they threatened journalists and diplomats waiting to meet the contingent.

On the same day, the Security Council issued a statement "deeply deploring" the events of 11 October and reiterating that serious and consistent non-compliance with the Governors Island Agreement would prompt it to reinstate the oil and arms embargo against Haiti. In this context, the Council requested the Secretary-General to report urgently whether the incidents of 11 October constituted such non-compliance by the Armed Forces of Haiti.

Following the departure of the Harlan County, the other members of UNMIH, the bulk of the MICIVIH staff and non-essential personnel of international agencies left Haiti. Many foreign nationals acted likewise, while Haitians living in the capital attempted to flee to the countryside. The Secretary-General's Special Representative remained at Port-au-Prince until 6 November 1993.

SANCTIONS REIMPOSED

The Secretary-General, in accordance with the Council's request, reported back on 13 October. He called attention to the "repeatedly observed lack of will on the part of the command of the Armed Forces of Haiti to facilitate the deployment and operation of UNMIH" and to administrative obstacles created to delay the start of the Mission. He also cited incidents demonstrating a lack of will to act against "attachés" who were terrorizing the population through such actions as assassinations, attacks on the offices of the Prime Minister and the general strike against UNMIH. Moreover, police had facilitated and, in some cases, participated in the actions of the armed civilians.

The Secretary-General went on to say that most of the instructions issued by the Government of Haiti to the Haitian Armed Forces and police had not been carried out. That was a "clear violation of the principle of the subordination of military forces to civilian authority", which was a central feature of the Governors Island Agreement. The incidents described in the report reflected a lack of will to cooperate fully with the peaceful transition to a democratic society, as well as the "clear and explicit intent to prevent the democratic process, as accepted in that Agreement, from taking its course".

The Secretary-General stated that the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Haiti and the police chief and commander of the Port-au-Prince metropolitan area "have failed to fulfil the commitments entered into by General Cédras in his capacity as co-signatory of the Governors Island Agreement". The Secretary-General declared it necessary to terminate the suspension of the oil and arms embargo first imposed by resolution 841 (1993).

The Security Council, by its resolution 873 (1993) of 13 October, decided to reimpose its oil and arms embargo against Haiti as of 2359 hours Eastern Standard Time on 18 October unless the parties to the Governors Island Agreement and other authorities in Haiti implemented in full the agreement to reinstate the legitimate Government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide and enable UNMIH to carry out its mandate. The Council said it would also consider additional sanctions if they continued to impede the activities of UNMIH or to refuse to comply with relevant Security Council resolutions and the Governors Island Agreement.

Despite diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis and mounting international pressure, the military leaders in Haiti continued to defy the Governors Island Agreement. Moreover, on 14 October, the Minister of Justice in the Government of President Aristide, François-Guy Malary, was assassinated. In a letter dated 15 October, President Aristide requested the Security Council to call on Member States to take the "necessary measures to strengthen the provisions of resolution 873 (1993)".

On 16 October, the Security Council, by its resolution 875 (1993), called upon Member States to ensure the strict implementation of the oil and arms embargo against Haiti, and in particular to halt and inspect ships travelling towards Haiti in order to verify their cargoes and destinations. The Council also confirmed that it was prepared to consider further necessary measures to ensure full compliance with the provisions of relevant Council resolutions.

Reaffirming that, in "these unique and exceptional circumstances", the failure of the military authorities in Haiti to fulfil their obligations under the Governors Island Agreement constituted a threat to peace and security in the region, the Council called on Member States, acting nationally or through regional arrangements and in cooperation with the legitimate Government of Haiti, to use appropriate measures to implement the sanctions called for under resolutions 841 (1993) and 873 (1993).

On 30 October 1993, after the deadline for the return of President Aristide to Haiti had passed, the Security Council, in a statement by its President, condemned the fact that Lieutenant-General Cédras and the Haitian military authorities had so far not fulfilled their obligations under the Governors Island Agreement, and deplored their fostering and perpetuation of a political and security environment which prevented the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to Haiti as provided for in the Agreement.

The Council reaffirmed that the Governors Island Agreement remained fully in force as the only valid framework for the solution of the crisis in Haiti. It further reaffirmed its determination to maintain and enforce sanctions on Haiti until the Agreement's commitments were honoured, and to consider strengthening them if the military authorities continued to interrupt the democratic transition.

DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS CONTINUE

The Secretary-General and his Special Representative, supported by several United Nations Member States ("Friends of the Secretary-General on Haiti"), in consultation with the OAS Secretary-General, have continued to work intensively to break the current impasse and promote agreement between the parties on measures which would make it possible to resume implementation of the Governors Island Agreement.

An important step forward was taken on 14-16 January 1994, when President Aristide convened a conference in Miami, Florida (United States), to which all the political groups that had signed the New York Pact were invited. At that conference a consensus emerged on a sequence of steps to be taken to break the deadlock. In the course of February 1994, further consultations took place in Washington between leading members of both Houses of the Haitian Parliament, representing all political tendencies in that Parliament. On 19 February, the Secretary-General received a letter from a representative group of those Parliamentarians containing a plan for resolving the crisis. On 3 March 1994, this plan was endorsed in a resolution by the Chamber of Deputies of the Haitian Parliament. The plan as presented to the Secretary-General by its authors was transmitted to the Security Council on 20 February 1994. On that occasion, the Secretary-General stated that he considered it to constitute a significant development.

The plan, which was subsequently set out in detail in a letter received on 23 February 1994, provided for the appointment of a Prime Minister, the departure of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Haiti, a vote on the amnesty law, as well as the adoption, after the installation of the new Government, of a law concerning the establishment of a police force, and the return of President Aristide to Haiti.

On 5 March 1994, the Secretary-General met with President Aristide. During the meeting, the President expressed his opposition to this initiative. He further expressed his position in a 7 March 1994 letter to the Secretary-General. Before appointing a new Prime Minister, President Aristide wished to bring about the departure of the leaders of the *coup d'état*, the adoption of the laws provided for within the framework of the New York Pact and the deployment of UNMIH.

Since then, efforts have continued in order to identify the common ground between the parties, and to ensure the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

The humanitarian situation in Haiti has been deteriorating in spite of the efforts of the United Nations and non-governmental organizations. In March 1993, the United Nations and OAS launched an appeal for a humanitarian plan of action designed to respond to the urgent humanitarian needs of the Haitian people. The budget required for the implementation of this plan was estimated at $62.7 million, for the areas of health, nutrition, agriculture and education. The overall response to the appeal has been disappointing. However, the relevant United Nations organizations have utilized their regular funds to maintain essential activities. In addition, complementary humanitarian assistance programmes are funded by donor countries through non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In its resolution 873 (1993) of 13 October 1993, the Security Council terminated the suspension of the embargo on petroleum and petroleum products and arms and related *matériel* of all kinds imposed on Haiti by resolution 841 (1993). Within the strict framework of the provisions of the resolution providing for possible exemptions for essential humanitarian needs, the United Nations and OAS invited the Pan American Health Organization to assume responsibility for a fuel management plan to permit the continued functioning of humanitarian activities. This programme, which commenced in January 1994, is managed by a steering committee composed of representatives of the organizations of the United Nations system, donors, NGOs and members of the Government. As of 31 March 1994, 320,018 gallons of diesel and 141,740 gallons of gasoline had been distributed to 218 end-users. The programme is on-going.

MICIVIH OBSERVERS RETURN TO HAITI

The human rights situation in Haiti has seriously deteriorated since obstacles arose to the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement.

A small group of administrative personnel of MICIVIH has remained in Port-au-Prince ever since the evacuation of the bulk of its personnel in October 1993. The Executive Director of MICIVIH returned to Port-au-Prince after four weeks of absence. Twenty-two United Nations and OAS observers returned on 26 January 1994, then six others on 2 February and, finally ten on 13 April, bringing the number of observers to thirty-eight.

In recent months, there was an alarming increase in violence in Haiti. MICIVIH noted an outbreak of violence in Port-au-Prince and surrounding areas, where the number of murders remained at a very high level, with the persistence of grave violations of human rights and, in particular, extrajudicial executions, suspicious deaths and enforced disappearances. There were a number of mutilations and many of those killed were supporters of President Aristide. In certain cases of suspicious death, the Mission obtained information leading to the conclusion that the culprits were members of the Armed Forces, their auxiliaries or members of the Front révolutionnaire pour l'avancement et le progrès en Haiti (FRAPH). In other cases, testimony pointed to armed civilians and left it unclear whether it was a question of "attachés" or of armed bands acting with the complicity of the Armed Forces.

SITUATION WITH UNMIH

The Security Council, by its resolution 867 (1993) which authorized the establishment of UNMIH for a period of six months, requested the Secretary-General to submit a progress report on the mission by 10 December 1993. The Secretary-General reported on 26 November 1993. He noted the Haitian military authorities' continued obstruction of the deployment of UNMIH and their failure to permit the mission to begin its work, and concluded that the mandate entrusted to UNMIH could not be implemented until there was a clear and substantial change of attitude on the part of the Haitian military leaders.

On 10 December 1993, the President of the Council addressed a letter to the Secretary-General containing the decision by the Council to continue the mandate of UNMIH for the full six-month period, that is until 23 March 1994.

In his further reports submitted to the Security Council on 19 January and 18 March 1994, the Secretary-General stated that notwithstanding the continued efforts, there had been "no change in the prevailing situation in Haiti that would have allowed the reactivation of UNMIH". In these circumstances, he suggested that the Council might wish to consider authorizing the extension of UNMIH's mandate for a period of three months. In his opinion, this would allow for the possibility of reactivating the mission with a minimum of delay, should the implementation of the Governors Island Agreement be resumed.

The Security Council, by its resolution 905 (1994) adopted on 23 March 1994, decided to extend the mandate of UNMIH until 30 June 1994.

EXTENSION OF MICIVIH RECOMMENDED

On 29 April 1994, the Secretary-General, in a report to the General Assembly, recommended that the Assembly extend the mandate and financing of the United Nations component of MICIVIH for one year. In the report, he stated that although the Mission had been unable to rectify a distressing situation in Haiti, it had shed light on certain events there and denounced human rights abuses that would not otherwise have been disclosed.

The Secretary-General went on to say that President Aristide could only be returned to power, and democracy restored in Haiti, if both sides made "constructive and accepted concessions". He noted that a recent initiative by a group of Haitian Parliamentarians — which had been supported by the United Nations and OAS — had not been endorsed by President Aristide. Meanwhile, unity among the Friends of the Secretary-General on Haiti had waned and Security Council sanctions, reimposed in October 1993, had not been effective.

The Secretary-General said the international community's role had changed from that of mediator between the parties to that of sole agent responsible for finding and implementing a solution to the deadlock. There was a danger that the international community would have too extensive a mission, allowing the parties to shirk their own responsibilities in the negotiating process.

Given that negotiations had yielded no significant progress, the Secretary-General recommended that "a more specifically Haitian solution" be found. For this reason, the participants should resume an effective role in this process and the international community and especially those countries most directly concerned should restore a unified approach in the negotiations.

The Secretary-General concluded his report by saying that without positive change, both from the Haitian side and from the international community, it was difficult to determine what additional efforts the United Nations could undertake to resolve the serious crisis prevailing in the country. However, as long as material circumstances would allow, the Organization must maintain its presence through MICIVIH and ensure the continuity of humanitarian assistance to Haiti.

COMPOSITION OF UNMIH

As authorized by the Security Council, UNMIH would comprise 567 police monitors and a military construction unit with a strength of approximately 700, including 60 military trainers. Military component would be provided by Argentina, Canada and United States. Police personnel would be contributed by Algeria, Austria, Canada, France, Indonesia, Madagascar, Russian Federation, Senegal, Spain, Switzerland, Tunisia and Venezuela.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The Secretary-General has estimated that the total cost of UNMIH for a six-month period would amount to approximately $50 million. The costs of the operation were to be met by the assessed contributions of United Nations Member States.

NOTES

1/ Mr. Bazin resigned on 8 June 1993.

PS/DPI/24/Rev.1 – May 1994

Note: Data effective 17 May 1994

UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION FOR RWANDA

LOCATION: Rwanda

HEADQUARTERS: Kigali

DURATION: October 1993 to present

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: Almost 5,400 military personnel, 50 military police and 90 civilian police personnel

FATALITIES: 11 (as of 24 May 1994)

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HEAD OF MISSION: Mr. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh (Cameroon)[1/]

FORCE COMMANDER: Major-General Romeo A. Dallaire (Canada)

BACKGROUND[2/]

The Arusha talks on a comprehensive peace agreement between the Government of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) reconvened on 16 March 1993. The talks were supported by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and facilitated by the United Republic of Tanzania. United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was represented by Mr. Macaire Pédanou, head of the United Nations goodwill mission which visited Rwanda earlier that month.

The talks covered military issues, refugees and displaced persons, and outstanding political matters, including the amendment of the constitution, as well as the duration of the transitional period. Early in the talks, the parties also began to discuss an international neutral force to oversee the implementation of key aspects of the peace agreement and to create confidence during the transition period.

The talks in Arusha were successfully concluded on 4 August 1993 with the signing of a comprehensive Peace Agreement, which called for a democratically elected government and provided for the establishment of a broad-based transitional Government until the elections, in addition to repatriation of refugees and integration of the armed forces of the two sides. The two parties called for a neutral international force to help implement the agreement.

In a joint request to the Security Council from Arusha on 11 June, the two parties had called on the United Nations to send a reconnaissance mission to Rwanda. This mission would prepare for the quick deployment of a neutral international force as soon as the peace agreement under negotiation was signed. The request welcomed the OAU suggestion made in consultations between the United Nations and OAU that the United Nations should assume responsibility for and command of such a force. The parties asked that the force should assist in the maintenance of public security and in the delivery of humanitarian aid. It would also assist in searches for weapons caches, neutralization of armed bands, demining, disarmament of civilians and the cessation of hostilities. The parties also requested that the international force oversee the demobilization of existing armed forces and of all aspects of the formation of the new National Army and National Gendarmerie.

UNAMIR IS RECOMMENDED

A United Nations reconnaissance mission visited Rwanda from 19 to 31 August 1993. Its senior officials also visited Dar-es-Salaam on 1 and 2 September and Addis Ababa on 3 September for consultations with the Government of Tanzania and the Secretary-General of OAU respectively.

On the basis of the mission's findings, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council, on 24 September, a report, in which he recommended the establishment of a United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), with the mandate of "contributing to the establishment and maintenance of a climate conducive to the secure installation and subsequent operation of the transitional Government".

According to the Secretary-General, the principal functions of UNAMIR would be to assist in ensuring the security of the capital city of Kigali; monitor the cease-fire agreement, including establishment of an expanded demilitarized zone (DMZ) and demobilization procedures; monitor the security situation during the final period of the transitional Government's mandate leading up to elections; and assist with mine-clearance. The Mission would also investigate alleged non-compliance with any provisions of the Peace Agreement and provide security for the repatriation of Rwandese refugees and displaced persons. In addition, it would assist in the coordination of humanitarian activities in conjunction with relief operations.

The Secretary-General proposed that the military observers of the United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) — an operation established by Security Council in June 1993 — come under the command of the new Mission, while maintaining their separate monitoring tasks on the Uganda-Rwanda border. The Mission would also incorporate elements of the Neutral Military Observer Group II (NMOG II) which was mandated by OAU to supervise the cease-fire until 31 October 1993.[3/]

SECRETARY-GENERAL OUTLINES MANDATE

The Secretary-General recommended to conduct the operation in four phases.

The first phase would begin on the day the Security Council established UNAMIR and would end on D-Day, the day on which the transitional Government was installed. It was estimated that the transitional Government might not be installed until the end of 1993. The objective of the Mission would be to establish conditions for the secure installation of such a government. By the end of that phase, the strength of UNAMIR would total 1,428 military personnel.

During phase two, expected to last 90 days or until the process of disengagement, demobilization and integration of the Armed Forces and Gendarmerie began, the build-up of the Mission would continue to a total of 2,548 military personnel. During this phase, UNAMIR would continue to monitor the DMZ, to assist in providing security in Kigali and in the demarcation of the assembly zones, and to ensure that all preparations for disengagement, demobilization and integration were in place.

During phase three, which would last about 9 months, the Mission would establish, supervise and monitor a new DMZ. Security would also continue to be provided in Kigali. The disengagement, demobilization and integration of the Forces and Gendarmerie would be completed in this stage, and the Mission would reduce its staff to approximately 1,240 personnel.

Phase four, which would last about four months, would see a further reduction of the Mission's strength to the minimum level of approximately 930 military personnel. UNAMIR would assist in ensuring the secure atmosphere required in the final stages of the transitional period leading up to the elections.

In order to verify that law and order were maintained effectively and impartially, the Secretary-General proposed to deploy a small United Nations civilian police unit in Kigali and the nine prefecture capitals of Rwanda and in specific police installations.

UNAMIR IS ESTABLISHED

UNAMIR was established on 5 October by Security Council resolution 872 (1993) for an initial period of six months with the proviso that it would be extended beyond the initial 90 days only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General as to whether or not substantive progress had been made towards the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

The Council approved the Secretary-General's proposal that the deployment and withdrawal of UNAMIR should be carried out in stages and noted that UNAMIR's mandate would terminate following national elections and the installation of a new government in Rwanda, events which were scheduled to occur by October 1995, but no later than December 1995. In that context, the Council authorized the Secretary-General to deploy a first contingent to Kigali, which, when fully in place, would permit the establishment of the transitional institutions and implementation of the other relevant provisions of the Peace Agreement.

By resolution 872 (1993), the Council also urged the parties to implement the Arusha agreement in good faith and called upon Member States, United Nations specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations to provide and intensify their economic, financial and humanitarian assistance in favour of the Rwandese population and of the democratization process in Rwanda.

The Council welcomed the intention of the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative who would lead UNAMIR in the field and exercise authority over all its elements.

UNAMIR DEPLOYED

The Secretary-General's Special Representative, Mr. Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh, former Minister for External Relations of Cameroon, who was appointed in accordance with Security Council resolution 872 (1993), arrived in Kigali on 23 November 1993 and established his headquarters in the Rwandese capital.

At a meeting on 10 December 1993, initiated by the Special Representative, the Government and RPF issued a joint declaration reaffirming their commitment to the provisions of the Arusha Peace Agreement. They agreed to set up a broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly before 31 December 1993.

The UNAMIR Force Commander, Major-General Romeo A. Dallaire (Canada), arrived in Kigali on 22 October 1993, followed by an advance party of 21 military personnel on 27 October. On 1 November, as foreseen in the Secretary-General's report, NMOG II was integrated into UNAMIR. The Kigali weapons-secure area was established on 24 December. The demilitarized zone sector headquarters was established upon the arrival of the advance party and became operational on 1 November 1993 when the NMOG II elements were absorbed into UNAMIR. The deployment of a UNAMIR battalion in Kigali, composed of contingents from Belgium and Bangladesh, was completed in the first part of December 1993.

In his 30 December 1993 report to the Security Council, the Secretary-General pointed out that most of the projected tasks of phase I of the implementation plan had been accomplished. He underlined that, despite signs of mutual intransigence, the parties had continued to show good will and cooperation in their contacts with each other and with the United Nations. The cease-fire was also respected.

The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council agree that UNAMIR should continue to implement its mandate. In this regard, he intended to proceed with the implementation plan, including the early deployment of the second battalion in the DMZ.

The Security Council, by its resolution 893 (1994) of 6 January 1994, reaffirmed the deployment of UNAMIR, including the early deployment of a second infantry battalion to the DMZ. The Council strongly urged the parties to cooperate with UNAMIR in furthering the peace process, to comply fully with the Arusha Peace Agreement and, in particular, to establish a broad-based transitional Government at the earliest opportunity.

IMPLEMENTATION PLAN DELAYED

In accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement, which provided that the incumbent head of State would remain in office until the elections, Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana was sworn in as President of Rwanda on 5 January 1994. However, expectations that the transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly would also be installed on that same day could not be met because of the inability of the parties concerned to agree on several issues, including the lists of members of these bodies.

The failure to set up the transitional institutions not only delayed the completion of phase I of the implementation plan, but also contributed to a deterioration of the security situation in the country and posed a threat to the peace process. January and February 1994 saw increasingly violent demonstrations, roadblocks, assassination of political leaders and assaults on and murders of civilians.

Following an upsurge in violent incidents in late February, culminating in the assassination of two prominent political leaders and the ambush of a UNAMIR-escorted RPF convoy, the Government imposed a curfew in Kigali and in a number of other cities. Subsequently, the security situation began to stabilize, especially following the increased support provided to the National Gendarmerie by UNAMIR military and civilian police components.

In the course of January-March 1994, the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, supported by a number of the Governments, both within and outside the region, as well as the OAU Secretary-General and the observer States to the peace process, continued to promote agreement among the parties on the setting up of the transitional institutions. However, notwithstanding some progress in the negotiations, all attempts to install those institutions failed.

CEASE-FIRE HOLDS

On the positive side, despite the increased tensions and insecurity engendered by the political impasse, the cease-fire was generally holding. UNAMIR forces, whose operational capacity was enhanced with the deployment of additional personnel and equipment, continued to play a stabilizing role.

Although the persistent stalemate on the establishment of the transitional institutions delayed the start of phase II operations, UNAMIR forces earmarked for that phase were in place and ready to begin operations on short notice. In addition, preparations for phase III, which would involve the actual disengagement, demobilization and integration of the armed forces of the parties, had begun.

With the arrival of the Police Commissioner, Colonel Manfred Bliem (Austria), on 26 December 1993 and of the police units in January and February 1994, the UNAMIR civilian police contingent (CIVPOL) set up its headquarters in Kigali and reached its authorized strength of 60 civilian police monitors. In carrying out its mandate, which was to assist in maintaining public security through the monitoring and verification of the activities of the Gendarmerie and the Communal Police, CIVPOL worked closely with both bodies in Kigali.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE UP TO APRIL 1994

On 15 April 1993, the United Nations launched an inter-agency appeal for international assistance covering a period from April to December 1993 amounting to $78 million to meet the needs of over 900,000 war-displaced people, or approximately 13 per cent of the nation's population. The appeal was the result of a request by the President of Rwanda to the Secretary-General earlier in 1993 following a three-fold increase in the number of the displaced persons whose emergency needs had overwhelmed the local capacity to supply them.

Most of the displaced were living in and around 30 camps where serious malnutrition and disease were prevalent. The situation was exacerbated by Rwanda's already precarious economic condition, overpopulation and rapidly declining agricultural production.

An inter-agency mission, led by the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs, had been fielded between 18 and 25 March 1993 to prepare a consolidated appeal with all concerned United Nations agencies. The appeal presented priority emergency relief projects focusing on food, nutrition, health, water and sanitation, shelter and household items and education. As of the end of November 1993, contributions in cash and in kind amounting to some $33 million had been made available to the United Nations agencies carrying out humanitarian activities in Rwanda.

With the signing of the Arusha Peace Agreement, it was estimated that some 600,000 individuals had returned home, thus easing the emergency situation that had prevailed earlier in the year; as a result, the emphasis of the humanitarian assistance efforts shifted to meeting the needs of the displaced returning home. At the same time, some 300,000 people who remained displaced continued to rely on emergency assistance in the camps.

In recommending the establishment of UNAMIR, the Secretary-General stated that humanitarian assistance to displaced persons and refugees, as well as to demobilized soldiers, would have to be coordinated with the Mission's activities. Mine-clearance had been earmarked as a priority to ease the threat to displaced persons and to humanitarian agencies seeking to deliver assistance.

EXTENSION OF UNAMIR MANDATE

The Secretary-General again reported to the Security Council on the situation in Rwanda on 30 March 1994. He stated that continued international support for UNAMIR would depend upon the full and prompt implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement by the parties concerned and urged them to make a determined effort to reach agreement on the establishment of the broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly.

The Secretary-General was encouraged by the fact that, in spite of increasing tensions, the parties had maintained the process of dialogue. He believed that UNAMIR should continue to support the dialogue to resolve the remaining differences in order to complete phase I of the implementation plan and to facilitate phase II operations. Therefore, the Secretary-General recommended that the Council extend the mandate of UNAMIR for a period of six months, during which time he would keep the Council informed of the pace of progress in the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement. However, in the event that the transitional institutions were not installed within the next two months and if sufficient progress in the implementation of the next phase of the agreement had not also been achieved, the Council should then review the situation, including the role of the United Nations.

On 5 April 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 909 (1994), expressed its "deep concern at the delay in the establishment of the broad-based transitional Government and the Transitional National Assembly" and, stating that it was "concerned at the deterioration in security in the country, particularly in Kigali", decided to extend the mandate of UNAMIR until 29 July 1994. It noted that it would review the situation in Rwanda, including the United Nations role in that country, within six weeks, if the Secretary-General informed it that the transitional institutions had not been established and that insufficient progress had been made for the implementation of phase II of the implementation plan.

RENEWED FIGHTING IN RWANDA

On 6 April 1994, a plane carrying President Juvénal Habyarimana of Rwanda and President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi crashed at Kigali airport, killing all those on board. The cause for the crash could not be determined without a full investigation, which has not taken place.

Following the deaths of the two Presidents, widespread killings with apparently both ethnic and political dimensions began in Kigali and also in other parts of the country. Within two weeks, the deaths were considered to number tens of thousands.

According to reports at the time, the killings were started by unruly members of the Presidential Guard, and then spread quickly throughout the city. RPF units subsequently became involved in the fighting. After the provisional Government disintegrated, an interim Government was proclaimed on 8 April 1994, but it left the capital on 12 April 1994, as fighting between the armed forces and RPF intensified, and established itself in Gitarama, 40 kilometres south-west of Kigali.

Victims of the violence included Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian members of UNAMIR. The Secretary-General condemned the acts of violence and attacks on the members of UNAMIR in the strongest terms.

Following the murder of the Belgian soldiers and threats to Belgian nationals, the Government of Belgium decided to withdraw its battalion from UNAMIR. UNAMIR found it impossible to carry on with its original mandate, and instead concentrated on: securing an agreement on a cease-fire to be followed by political negotiations; protecting civilians in all possible ways; negotiating a truce with the two parties to permit the evacuation of expatriates; assisting in evacuations; rescuing those trapped in the fighting; and providing humanitarian assistance to large groups of displaced persons under UNAMIR protection.

NEW MEASURES

On 14 April, the Secretary-General presented to the Security Council two broad alternatives for dealing with Rwanda, both based on the establishment of a cease-fire. The first of these was to retain UNAMIR at a reduced strength for a period of three to four weeks following the cease-fire. If the parties reached agreement on restoration of the Arusha process during this period, UNAMIR would resume its role under its mandate; otherwise, it would be withdrawn.

The second option was to withdraw the bulk of UNAMIR after a cease-fire, leaving the Special Representative and the Force Commander in Kigali to act as intermediaries for political negotiations for an indefinite period subject to review by the Security Council. About 200 to 300 United Nations military personnel would remain in Kigali. If the first of the two options failed, it would be possible to move to the second.

Despite direct contacts between the two sides under the auspices of UNAMIR on 15 April, both adopted rigid positions, undermining negotiations for a cease-fire. Violence continued in the streets, as did fighting between Rwandese Government Forces (RGF) and RPF forces, and UNAMIR headquarters was hit on 19 April, although there were no casualties.

On 20 April 1994, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that UNAMIR personnel "cannot be left at risk indefinitely when there is no possibility of their performing the tasks for which they were dispatched."

The military personnel in UNAMIR stood at 1,515 on that date, down from 2,165, while military observers numbered 190, down from 321.

The Secretary-General proffered three alternatives to the Security Council.

Assuming there was no realistic prospect of the two sides agreeing on an effective cease-fire in the immediate future, combat and massacres could only be averted by an immediate and massive reinforcement of UNAMIR and a change in its mandate to allow it to coerce opposing forces into a cease-fire. This would require several thousand additional troops and could require that UNAMIR be given enforcement powers under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Alternatively, a small group, headed by the Force Commander, would remain in Kigali to act as an intermediary between the two parties in an attempt to bring them to an agreement on a cease-fire. This effort could be maintained for a period of up to two weeks or longer, should the Council so prefer. The total military personnel would number about 270. But a full relief effort would be impossible without a cease-fire under this arrangement, the Secretary-General pointed out.

Finally, the Secretary-General noted that UNAMIR could be completely withdrawn, although he did not favour this alternative. The cost of withdrawal in human lives could be very severe, the Secretary-General cautioned.

In presenting the alternatives, the Secretary-General emphasized that the Government of Rwanda, or its successor, and RPF bore responsibility for seeking peace. He also expressed sympathy for bereaved Rwandan families, offered condolences to the Government of Belgium and the families of the Belgian peacekeepers who were killed, and recorded his high commendation to the personnel of UNAMIR, his Special Representative and the Force Commander for their work.

On 21 April 1994, the Security Council decided in its resolution 912 (1994) to reduce UNAMIR to the numbers recommended by the Secretary-General in his second alternative. It also adjusted the mandate of

UNAMIR so that it would act as an intermediary between the parties in an attempt to secure their agreement to a cease-fire; assist in the resumption of humanitarian relief operations to the extent feasible; and monitor developments in Rwanda, including the safety and security of civilians who sought refuge with UNAMIR. In the resolution, the Security Council also stressed that the Arusha Peace Agreement remained central to the peace process in Rwanda, strongly condemned the attacks against UNAMIR and other United Nations personnel, and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities between the forces of the Government of Rwanda and RPF. The Secretary-General's Special Representative participated in the Arusha talks on 22-23 April where a cease-fire statement was presented. Although cease-fire negotiations could not take place, the meeting contributed to a unilateral declaration of a cease-fire by RPF.

HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES

Because of the deterioration in the security situation, the evacuation of humanitarian personnel was recommended on 9 April 1994, and humanitarian activities were temporarily suspended. On 23 April , however, the Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs. Mr. Peter Hansen, led a United Nations advance humanitarian team to Kigali, including specialists in food aid, communications, logistics, health and sanitation. The team worked in cooperation with UNAMIR to provide assistance to the needy population in Rwanda.

UNAMIR was also coordinating with the International Committee of the Red Cross, which had been distributing food and relief material to displaced persons in Kigali.

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had made several emergency airlifts of blankets and shelter materials to Zaire and Burundi, and a UNHCR representative remained in Rwanda to assess the refugee situation first-hand. Major-General Romeo A. Dallaire, Force Commander of UNAMIR, held talks on the exchange of refugees in RPF– and RGF–controlled areas. He also facilitated progress towards a humanitarian accord between the two sides.

On 29 April, UNHCR reported that more than 250,000 Rwandese refugees had flooded into Tanzania over the previous 24 hours, in the largest and fastest exodus the Office had ever seen. UNHCR had pre-positioned food, blankets and shelter materials for about 50,000 people, but a UNHCR official said the Office's needs would be great in coming days. In addition, UNHCR had registered some 38,000 Rwandan refugees in Burundi, 5,500 in Uganda, and 3,300 in Zaire.

SECRETARY-GENERAL SEEKS FURTHER ACTION

On 29 April 1994, the Secretary-General wrote to the Security Council that the situation had further deteriorated in Kigali and other parts of Rwanda. The capital city was effectively divided into sectors controlled by RGF and RPF, the Secretary-General wrote, with frequent exchanges of artillery and mortar fire between the two sides. UNAMIR reported strong evidence of preparations for further massacres of civilians in the city, while massacres continued on a large scale in the countryside, especially in the south.

The developments raised serious questions about the viability of the revised mandate which the Security Council gave to UNAMIR on 21 April. It had become clear that UNAMIR did not have the power to take effective action to halt the continuing massacres, and would be unable to protect threatened people in Kigali if a new wave of massacres were to start. According to some estimates, as many as 200,000 people had died over the previous three weeks.

While some of the massacres had been the work of uncontrolled military personnel, most of them had been perpetrated by armed groups of civilians taking advantage of the complete breakdown of law and order in Kigali and many other parts of Rwanda, the Secretary-General continued, and they could be prevented only if law and order were restored. The Secretary-General urged the Security Council to consider again what action, including forceful action, it could take or could authorize Member States to take, in order to end the massacres.

Although such action would require a commitment of human and material resources on a scale which Member States had so far proved reluctant to contemplate, the Secretary-General said the scale of human suffering and its implications for the stability of neighboring countries left the Security Council with no alternative but to examine this possibility.

The Secretary-General continued to provide daily briefings to the Security Council, including details on Rwanda's security situation. This had rapidly deteriorated, with large-scale massacres taking place.

On 30 April 1994, the President of the Security Council issued a statement demanding that the interim Government of Rwanda and RPF take effective measures to prevent any attacks on civilians in areas under their control. It called on the leadership of both parties to condemn publicly such attacks and to commit themselves to ensuring that persons who instigate or participate in such acts are individually responsible, noting that the killing of members of an ethnic group with the intention of destroying such a group in whole or in part constitutes a crime punishable under international law.

The Security Council also called on all States to assist UNHCR and other humanitarian and relief agencies operating in the area in meeting the urgent humanitarian needs in Rwanda and its bordering States, and asked bordering States, working with OAU, to provide appropriate protection to refugees and to facilitate transfer of goods and supplies to meet the needs of the displaced persons within Rwanda.

It appealed to all States to refrain from providing arms or any military assistance to the parties to the conflict, and stated its willingness in principle to consider promptly the application of an arms embargo to Rwanda.

Along with other requests, the Council asked the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Secretary-General of OAU, to report further on how to help restore law and order in Rwanda and provide security for displaced persons and to explore urgently ways of extending humanitarian relief assistance to refugees and displaced persons.

Among other measures in response to the Security Council's statement, the Secretary-General wrote to a number of African countries and to the Secretary-General of OAU to explore ways through which such countries could contribute troops to help resolve the tragic situation in Rwanda.

On 3 May 1994, the Secretary-General sent a letter to the President of the Security Council in which he informed him of the action he had taken with respect to communications sent to African leaders, and also mentioned that he had personally spoken with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Chairman-in-Office of OAU, about the problems in Rwanda, in addition to discussing the matter with the OAU Secretary-General.

In a subsequent letter, dated 6 May 1994, the President of the Security Council asked the Secretary-General to prepare contingency plans to deliver humanitarian assistance and support of displaced persons in Rwanda, and indicated that the Council might later seek indications on logistics and financial implications of an expanded United Nations or international presence in Rwanda.

UNAMIR EXPANDED

The Secretary-General reported on 13 May 1994 to the Security Council that UNAMIR had been reduced to 444 all ranks in Rwanda, with 179 military observers at Nairobi pending repatriation or redeployment to the Mission. He also stated that the situation in Rwanda remained "highly unstable and insecure, with widespread violence." A "major humanitarian crisis" had developed, with nearly 2 million people having been displaced.

He noted that in collaboration with other United Nations organizations, the Department of Humanitarian Affairs had established the United Nations Rwanda Emergency Office (UNREO) to coordinate humanitarian relief activities. Medical and nutritional supplies from the United Nations Children's Fund had been distributed in parts of Kigali where access was possible, he noted, while the World Food Programme had been able to deliver more than 500 tons of food in the north and 840 tons of food in the south.

The United Nations humanitarian organizations, in consultation with UNAMIR and the International Committee of the Red Cross, had agreed upon a set of principles to serve as the basis for humanitarian operations in Rwanda. These included ensuring the security of relief efforts; joint identification of distribution sites by responsible authorities and United Nations humanitarian organizations; clear identification of interlocutors to represent the authorities for discussion of humanitarian operations; acceptance by authorities of the monitoring and reporting responsibilities of the United Nations organizations regarding the distribution and use of relief materials; and an understanding that aid should be provided based on need, regardless of race, ethnic group, religion or political affiliation. Both sides subsequently agreed on the principles.

The Secretary-General recommended to the Security Council that it provide a new mandate to create UNAMIR II, which would include 5,500 troops. UNAMIR II would, *inter alia*, support and provide safe conditions for displaced persons and other groups in Rwanda and help with the provision of assistance by humanitarian organizations. It would work on behalf of displaced persons in the interior of the country, as well as on the border.

Displaced persons in the interior of the country outnumbered those in border areas or in neighbouring countries by a factor of five, the Secretary-General pointed out. In addition, if humanitarian efforts were concentrated on border areas, the protected sites could act as a magnet to people in need in the interior of the country and increase the number of displaced persons.

UNAMIR II would also monitor border crossing points and the two parties' deployment. While its rules of engagement would not envisage enforcement action, it could be required to take action in self-defence against those who threatened protected sites and populations and the means of delivery and distribution of humanitarian relief.

Deployment of UNAMIR II would be conducted in three phases over a one-month period. During the first phase, which would last for one week following the adoption of the enabling resolution by the Security Council, one full-strength battalion would ensure the protection of Kigali International Airport and other sites in the city where thousands had sought refuge. In the second phase, extending for two weeks after the adoption of the resolution, two more battalions would be deployed, along with advance elements of a support battalion and all of the force headquarters and signal squadron. The rest of the support battalion and two other infantry battalions would be deployed during the third phase, to be completed one month after adoption of the enabling resolution.

On 17 May 1994, the Security Council in resolution 918 (1994) demanded that all parties to the conflict immediately cease hostilities and agree to a cease-fire. It expanded UNAMIR's mandate to enable it to contribute to the security and protection of refugees and civilians at risk, through means including the establishment and maintenance of secure humanitarian areas, and the provision of security for relief operations to the degree possible.

It authorized the expansion of UNAMIR to 5,500 troops, and requested the Secretary-General to redeploy immediately, as a first phase, the UNAMIR military observers from Nairobi to Rwanda, and to bring up to full strength the infantry battalion currently in the country. The Secretary-General was asked to report as soon as possible on the next phase of UNAMIR's deployment, including updates on cooperation of the parties, progress toward a cease-fire, availability of resources and the proposed duration of the mandate for further review.

At the same time, the Council imposed an arms embargo on the country. It also asked the Secretary-General to present a report as soon as possible on the investigation of serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda during the conflict and invited the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, in coordination with OAU and countries in the region, to continue their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Rwanda within the framework of the Arusha Peace Agreement.[4/]

COMPOSITION OF UNAMIR

Originally, the authorized peak military strength of UNAMIR was 2,548 military personnel, including 2,217 formed troops and 331 military observers. As of 31 March 1994, UNAMIR had a strength of 2,539 military personnel from the following countries: Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Congo, Egypt, Fiji, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia, Uruguay and Zimbabwe. At that time, the Mission also comprised 60 civilian police monitors from Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Guyana, Mali and Togo, while it was authorized to have 110 international and 61 locally recruited civilian staff.

Following the outbreak of violence in April 1994, the Security Council adjusted UNAMIR's mandate and decided to reduce the Mission to 270 military personnel. After the situation in Rwanda further deteriorated the Council authorized an expansion of UNAMIR's mandate and authorized an increase of the UNAMIR force level up to 5,500 troops. The larger mission would include five infantry battalions numbering some 4,000 all ranks, a force support battalion of approximately 721 personnel, a military observer group of 320 officers, 219 headquarters personnel, a helicopter squadron of some 110 all ranks and 16 helicopters, 50 military police personnel and a force of 90 civilian police. As of 30 April 1994, UNAMIR included 620 military personnel and 20 civilian police officers from the following countries:

COUNTRY	POLICE	TROOPS	OBSERVERS
Austria			15
Bangladesh		4	34
Canada		6	
Congo			25
Egypt			10
Fiji			1
Ghana		324	25
Malawi			5
Mali	5		10
Nigeria			16
Poland			4
Russian Federation			15
Senegal			29
Togo	15		14
Tunisia		40	
Uruguay			23
Zimbabwe			20
TOTAL	20	374	246

Figures may vary from month to month due to rotation.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The rough annual cost of UNAMIR in its original deployment was estimated at $98 million (including costs related to UNOMUR effective 22 December 1993). As at 30 April 1994, total contributions outstanding to the Special Account of UNAMIR (including UNOMUR) amounted to approximately $61 million.

The Secretary-General has estimated that the cost associated with the deployment of UNAMIR II would be approximately $115 million for a six-month period. Costs are met by the assessed contributions from United Nations Member States.

NOTES

1/ Mr. Booh-Booh is to be succeeded by Mr. Shahryar M. Khan, former Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan, effective 1 July 1994.

2/ For more background information on the conflict in Rwanda, see page 124, United Nations Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda.

3/ From July 1992 to July 1993, the OAU Neutral Military Observer Group (NMOG I), made up of 50 observers from OAU countries, monitored the cease-fire in Rwanda. In early August 1993, it was replaced by an expanded NMOG II force, composed of some 130 personnel.

4/ On 19 June 1994, the Secretary-General, in a letter to the President of the Security Council, reiterated the need for an urgent and coordinated response by the international community to the genocide which had engulfed Rwanda. He enumerated the offers which the United Nations had received in anticipation of the expansion of the UNAMIR mandate, as authorized by the Council in its resolution 918 (1994), and explained that the United Nations expected, in the best of circumstances, to complete the deployment of the first phase of UNAMIR in the first week of July 1994.

The Secretary-General indicated that the Security Council might wish to consider the offer of the Government of France to undertake a French-commanded multinational operation, under Chapter VII of the Charter, to assure the security and protection of displaced persons and civilians at risk in Rwanda. Such an operation would last until UNAMIR was reinforced. This would imply that the multinational force should remain deployed for a minimum period of three months. The activities of the multinational force and those of UNAMIR would be closely coordinated by the respective force commanders.

In his letter, the Secretary-General stressed that the efforts of the international community should be directed at the resumption of the Arusha peace process. In that connection, his new Special Representative for Rwanda, Mr. Shaharyar Khan, planned to take up his assignment shortly.

On 22 June 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 929 (1994), welcomed the Secretary-General's letter and agreed that a multinational operation might be set up for humanitarian purposes until UNAMIR was brought up to the necessary strength.

The French initiative, named Opération turquoise, was launched on 23 June 1994.

Note: Data effective 4 May 1994

UNITED NATIONS AOUZOU STRIP OBSERVER GROUP

LOCATION: Aouzou Strip

HEADQUARTERS: Aouzou administrative post

DURATION: Established on 4 May 1994 for a period of up to 40 days

AUTHORIZED STRENGTH: 9 military observers and 6 international civilian staff

CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVER: Colonel Mazlan Baharuddin (Malaysia)

BACKGROUND

Ownership of the Aouzou Strip — an area between the Republic of Chad and the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya — was contested by the two countries beginning in 1973. Following the resumption of diplomatic relations between them on 3 October 1988, both States proclaimed their willingness to resolve the dispute over the Strip by peaceful means. On 31 August 1989, the two Governments signed, in Algiers, a Framework Agreement on the Peaceful Settlement of the Territorial Dispute. In September 1990, after several rounds of inconclusive talks, Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya referred the dispute to the International Court of Justice (ICJ), the principal judicial organ of the United Nations.[1/]

In the case, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had based its claims to the area on rights and titles including those of the indigenous inhabitants, of the Senoussi Order (a religious grouping founded during the early part of the nineteenth century) and of a succession of sovereign States — the Ottoman Empire, Italy, and Libya itself. Meanwhile, the Republic of Chad claimed the boundary was established by a Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourliness concluded by the French Republic and the United Kingdom of Libya on 10 August 1955, among other arguments.

In its Judgment, delivered on 3 February 1994, the ICJ found that the boundary between Chad and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya had been defined by the Treaty of Friendship and Good-Neighbourliness. According to the 16–1 decision, the boundary ran "From the point of intersection of the 24th meridian east with the parallel 19° 30′ of latitude north, a straight line to the point of intersection of the Tropic of Cancer with the 16th meridian east; and from that point a straight line to the point of intersection of the 15th meridian east and the parallel 23° of latitude north."

In March 1994, both Governments pledged to abide by the ICJ Judgment and noted that it had brought a definite solution to the territorial dispute. After further talks, an agreement was signed on 4 April 1994, establishing the practical modalities for the implementation of the Judgment. The agreement provided, *inter alia*, for the withdrawal of the Libyan administration and forces from the Aouzou Strip, removal of mines, crossing points for persons and property, study of the question of monitoring the frontier, maintenance of good-neighbourliness, demarcation of the boundary, further cooperation and notification of the agreement to the United Nations.

UNITED NATIONS RECONNAISSANCE MISSION

According to the agreement, the withdrawal operation of the Libyan administration and forces should commence on 15 April 1994, under the supervision of a mixed team composed of 25 Libyan and 25 Chadian military officers, and end on 30 May 1994. United Nations observers should be present during the withdrawal operations and should establish that the withdrawal is actually effected.

Following consultations between United Nations Secretariat and Chadian and Libyan officials in New York, both Governments agreed that a United Nations reconnaissance team composed of both civilian and military personnel would visit the area to conduct a brief survey of conditions on the ground.

After the reconnaissance mission was endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 910 (1994) of 14 April 1994, the team arrived in Tripoli on 15 April and proceeded to the Aouzou Strip on 17 April. On the basis of the discussions with the Chadian and Libyan authorities and of the preliminary assessment of conditions on the ground, the team reported that it would be possible to deploy United Nations observers to perform the functions envisaged in the 4 April 1994 agreement

ESTABLISHMENT OF UNASOG

On 27 April 1994, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council a report, in which he recommended the deployment of the United Nations Aouzou Strip Observer Group (UNASOG) for a period of approximately 40 days from the date of adoption of the relevant decision of the Council.

The Secretary-General envisaged that, subject to the approval of the Council, UNASOG would be deployed immediately. The reconnaissance team with five military observers already in the area would become the advance party of the operation. Since the withdrawal of the Libyan administration and forces was to begin on 15 April 1994, the team would continue to monitor the withdrawal until the establishment of UNASOG.

On 4 May 1994, the Security Council, by its resolution 915 (1994), established UNASOG in accordance with the recommendations of the Secretary-General, and authorized its deployment for a single period of up to 40 days from the date of the resolution. It called upon the parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in verifying implementation of the 4 April agreement and, in particular, to grant UNASOG freedom of movement and all the services it required in order to fulfil its functions.[2]

COMPOSITION

The authorized strength of UNASOG is 9 military observers and 6 international civilian staff. The military observers as well as most of the civilian staff are drawn from the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO). The observers come from the following countries:

COUNTRY	OBSERVERS
Bangladesh	1
Ghana	2
Honduras	1
Kenya	2
Malaysia	2
Nigeria	1
TOTAL	9

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The Secretary-General estimated that the cost of UNASOG from 15 April to 30 May 1994 would be approximately $400,000, to be met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States.

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[1] The jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice covers all questions which States refer to it, and all matters provided for in the United Nations Charter or in treaties or conventions in force. States may bind themselves in advance to accept the jurisdiction of the Court in special cases, either by signing a treaty or convention which provides for referral to the Court or by making a special declaration to that effect. The seat of the Court is at The Hague, Netherlands.

[2] On 30 May 1994, Mr. Abderrahman Izzo Miskine, Minister of Interior and Security of Chad, and Mr. Mohamed Mahmud Al Hijazi, Secretary of the General People's Committee for Justice and Public Security of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, signed a Joint Declaration on behalf of their Governments stating that the withdrawal of the Libyan administration and forces from the Aouzou

Strip had been effected as of that date to the satisfaction of both parties and monitored by UNASOG. The Chief Military Observer of UNASOG affixed his signature to the Declaration as a witness.

Reporting to the Security Council on 6 June 1994, the Secretary-General said UNASOG had left the Aouzou Strip on 5 June after having successfully completed its task. The accomplishment of its mandate "amply demonstrates the useful role, as envisaged by the Charter, which the United Nations can play in the peaceful settlement of disputes when the parties cooperate fully with the Organization," the Secretary-General said.

The mandate of UNASOG was terminated by the Security Council in its resolution 926 (1994) of 13 June 1994.

PS/DPI/26 – May 1994

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE-KEEPING OPERATIONS BY COUNTRY

30 April 1994

	COUNTRY		UNTSO	UNMOGIP	UNFICYP	UNDOF	UNIFIL	UNIKOM	UNAVEM	ONUSAL	MINURSO	UNPROFOR	ONUMOZ	UNOSOM	UNOMUR	UNOMIG	UNOMIL	UNAMIR	TOTALS		GRAND TOTAL
1	ARGENTINA	P							3			23							26	P	
		T			375			49		4		860	40						1,328	T	
		O	6					6	2		5	5	8						32	O	1,386
2	AUSTRALIA	P			20								16						36	P	
		T									43			67					110	T	
		O	13								2								15	O	161
3	AUSTRIA	P								3	6								9	P	
		T			350	461		12											823	T	
		O	13		4			6			1						11	15	50	O	882
4	BANGLADESH	P										47	25						72	P	
		T						790					1,208	940			65	4	3,007	T	
		O						9			7	29	30		20	3	53	34	185	O	3,264
5	BELGIUM	P																		P	
		T										1,042							1,042	T	
		O	6	2							1	6							15	O	1,057
6	BOTSWANA	P																		P	
		T											755	423					1,178	T	
		O											13		9				22	O	1,200
7	BRAZIL	P							6	14		10	36						66	P	
		T							11										11	T	
		O							8	4		23	27		13				75	O	152
8	CANADA	P										45							45	P	
		T			10	215					14	1,947		2				6	2,194	T	
		O	14					5		2	16	14	15						66	O	2,305
9	CAPE VERDE	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O											18						18	O	18
10	CHILE	P								28									28	P	
		T																		T	
		O	3	3															6	O	34
11	CHINA	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O	3					15			20		10				15		63	O	63
12	COLOMBIA	P								34		23							57	P	
		T																		T	
		O								2		2							4	O	61

	COUNTRY		UNTSO	UNMOGIP	UNFICYP	UNDOF	UNIFIL	UNIKOM	UNAVEM	ONUSAL	MINURSO	UNPROFOR	ONUMOZ	UNOSOM	UNOMUR	UNOMIG	UNOMIL	UNAMIR	TOTALS		GRAND TOTAL
13	CONGO	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O							2									25	27	O	27
14	CZECH REPUBLIC	P																		P	
		T										911							911	T	
		O										24	19				15		58	O	969
15	DENMARK	P										45							45	P	
		T			1			45				1,253							1,299	T	
		O	12	7				6				33				4			62	O	1,406
16	EGYPT	P										10	21						31	P	
		T										429		1,666					2,095	T	
		O									9	12	20				15	10	66	O	2,192
17	FIJI	P																		P	
		T					643												643	T	
		O						6										1	7	O	650
18	FINLAND	P																		P	
		T			1	2	541					277							821	T	
		O	18	6				7				7							38	O	859
19	FRANCE	P								22		41							63	P	
		T					441					6,875							7,316	T	
		O	13					15			30	12							70	O	7,449
20	GERMANY	P									5								5	P	
		T																		T	
		O														2			2	O	7
21	GHANA	P																		P	
		T					792											324	1116	T	
		O						6			4	22						25	57	O	1,173
22	GREECE	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O						6			1								7	O	7
23	GUYANA	P								8									8	P	
		T																		T	
		O																		O	8
24	GUINEA	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O									1								1	O	1
25	GUINEA BISSAU	P											25						25	P	
		T																		T	
		O							2				37				20		59	O	84
26	HONDURAS	P																		P	
		T									2								2	T	
		O									14								14	O	16

	COUNTRY		UNTSO	UNMOGIP	UNFICYP	UNDOF	UNIFIL	UNIKOM	UNAVEM	ONUSAL	MINURSO	UNPROFOR	ONUMOZ	UNOSOM	UNOMUR	UNOMIG	UNOMIL	UNAMIR	TOTALS		GRAND TOTAL
27	HUNGARY	P											10						10	P	
		T																		T	
		O			4			6	4				23		4	5			46	O	56
28	INDIA	P																		P	
		T											910	4,925					5,835	T	
		O						6	3								20		29	O	5,864
29	INDONESIA	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O						7				25							32	O	32
30	IRELAND	P			15							20	20						55	P	
		T			26		739							82					847	T	
		O	19		4			5		2	5	8							43	O	945
31	ITALY	P								10									10	P	
		T					42						222						264	T	
		O	7	5				7			5								24	O	298
32	JAPAN	P																		P	
		T											53						53	T	
		O																		O	53
33	JORDAN	P										55	45						100	P	
		T										3,085							3,085	T	
		O							2			46					40		88	O	3,273
34	KENYA	P										49							49	P	
		T										930							930	T	
		O						7			10	47					20		84	O	1,063
35	MALAYSIA	P							3		5		35						43	P	
		T										1,492		955					2,447	T	
		O						6	1		6	20	24				25		82	O	2,572
36	MALAWI	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O																5	5	O	5
37	MALI	P																5	5	P	
		T																		T	
		O																10	10	O	15
38	MEXICO	P								49									49	P	
		T																		T	
		O																		O	49
39	MOROCCO	P							1										1	P	
		T																		T	
		O																		O	1
40	NEPAL	P										46							46	P	
		T					722					903		311					1,936	T	
		O										6							6	O	1,988

	COUNTRY		UNTSO	UNMOGIP	UNFICYP	UNDOF	UNIFIL	UNIKOM	UNAVEM	ONUSAL	MINURSO	UNPROFOR	ONUMOZ	UNOSOM	UNOMUR	UNOMIG	UNOMIL	UNAMIR	TOTALS		GRAND TOTAL
41	NETHERLANDS	P							2			9							11	P	
		T										2,143	11						2,154	T	
		O	15						2			50			9				76	O	2,241
42	NEW ZEALAND	P																		P	
		T											2	50					52	T	
		O	7						3			9							19	O	71
43	NIGERIA	P										40							40	P	
		T												702					702	T	
		O						6	5		1	7						16	35	O	777
44	NORWAY	P										30	8						38	P	
		T					826					586							1,412	T	
		O	15	5				7	4			40							71	O	1,521
45	PAKISTAN	P																		P	
		T												7,057					7,057	T	
		O						7			4	30					41		82	O	7,139
46	POLAND	P										29							29	P	
		T				357	567					984							1,908	T	
		O						7			2	23				2		4	38	O	1,975
47	PORTUGAL	P										44	7						51	P	
		T										7	277						284	T	
		O										11	1						12	O	347
48	ROMANIA	P																		P	
		T												231					231	T	
		O						6											6	O	237
49	RUSSIAN FEDERATION	P										45							45	P	
		T										1,316							1,316	T	
		O	13					14			30	20	19					15	111	O	1,472
50	SENEGAL	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O						6							10			29	45	O	45
51	SINGAPORE	P																		P	
		T																		T	
		O						7											7	O	7
52	SLOVAK REPUBLIC	P																		P	
		T										583							583	T	
		O							5						5		10		20	O	603
53	SPAIN	P								102			14						116	P	
		T										1,357							1,357	T	
		O								11		14	21						46	O	1,519
54	SWEDEN	P								2		35	10						47	P	
		T										1,053							1,053	T	
		O	19	8				6	3	1		17	19			3			76	O	1,176

	COUNTRY		UNTSO	UNMOGIP	UNFICYP	UNDOF	UNIFIL	UNIKOM	UNAVEM	ONUSAL	MINURSO	UNPROFOR	ONUMOZ	UNOSOM	UNOMUR	UNOMIG	UNOMIL	UNAMIR	TOTALS		GRAND TOTAL
55	SWITZERLAND	P										8	1						9	P	63
		T									38	1							39	T	
		O	7									6				2			15	O	
56	THAILAND	P																		P	6
		T																		T	
		O						6											6	O	
57	TOGO	P									5							15	20	P	34
		T																		T	
		O																14	14	O	
58	TUNISIA	P										10							10	P	59
		T																40	40	T	
		O									9								9	O	
59	TURKEY	P																		P	7
		T																		T	
		O						7											7	O	
60	UKRAINE	P																		P	1,021
		T										1,021							1,021	T	
		O																		O	
61	UNITED KINGDOM	P																		P	3,901
		T			425							3,443							3,868	T	
		O						15				18							33	O	
62	UNITED STATES	P																		P	867
		T										800	5						805	T	
		O	17					15			30								62	O	
63	URUGUAY	P									5								5	P	914
		T											835						835	T	
		O		3				6					22				20	23	74	O	
64	VENEZUELA	P																		P	26
		T																		T	
		O						5		3	11	7							26	O	
65	ZAMBIA	P																		P	843
		T											835						835	T	
		O											8						8	O	
66	ZIMBABWE	P							2										2	P	1,029
		T												993					993	T	
		O							4						10			20	34	O	
	Subtotals	P			35				17	272	26	664	273					20	1,307	P	
	Subtotals	T			1,188	1,035	5,313	896	11	4	97	33,298	5,153	18,404			65	374	65,838	T	
	Subtotals	O	220	39	12			251	50	25	224	593	334		80	21	305	246	2,400	O	
	TOTALS		220	39	1,235	1,035	5,313	1,147	78	301	347	34,555	5,760	18,404	80	21	370	640			69,545

Figures valid 30 April 1994. Operational strength may vary from month to month due to rotation.

Key: P: civilian police; T: troops; O: military observers.

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